

NEW WESTMINSTER, 1859-1871

by

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NEW WESTMINSTER 1859 - 1871.

This thesis deals with the history of New Westminster from the spring of 1859, when the City was founded, to July, 1871, the date at which British Columbia entered Confederation. As background material, reference has been made to the inception of the colony of British Columbia as a result of the gold rush and its early administration under James Douglas, Governor of both British Columbia and Vancouver Island. A detachment of Royal Engineers was sent out from Great Britain to provide military protection and to perform various civil duties, notably survey work. New Westminster was chosen as the site for the capital of the new colony by Colonel R. C. Moody, Officer Commanding the Royal Engineers.

When New Westminster was incorporated in July, 1860, at the request of the inhabitants, control of civic affairs was vested in an elected Municipal Council. An account is given of the Incorporation Act, the composition of the Council, its revenue, expenditure and achievement.

A chapter has been devoted to the early development of the City with mention being made of the establishment of the Royal Engineers' camp at Sapperton and the erection of Government offices and the first private buildings and residences in the City.

As New Westminster could not develop independently of the surrounding area reference has been made to these adjoining districts. Shortly after the founding of the City agriculture was started on the

rich farm lands of the Fraser Valley and the year 1862 saw the beginning of the lumbering industry on Burrard Inlet. To connect New Westminster with these farming areas and with the Inlet, a series of trails was constructed from the capital.

The early political history of New Westminster is chiefly concerned with agitation for responsible government and a resident Governor. New Westminster urged these two reforms because it felt that Governor Douglas and the government officials were sacrificing the City's interests to those of Victoria. A Legislative Council was created in May, 1863, and British Columbia obtained a separate Governor in the person of Sir James Douglas and later Frederick Seymour. Despite strong objection from the people of New Westminster the two British colonies on the Pacific were united in November, 1866, and in 1868 the capital of the united colony was moved to Victoria. The chapter dealing with political development concludes with an account of the City's attempts to secure compensation for the removal of the capital and its part in the move towards Confederation.

The chief government institutions at New Westminster were the Jail, Land Registry Office, Post Office, Assay Office and proposed Mint. A resume is given of the functions of each of these institutions, as well as of the administration of law as it affected New Westminster, mail service within the colony, the gold escort from the Cariboo mines, and the contribution of the Royal Engineers to the development of the City. A further chapter deals with semi-official institutions; the Hyack Fire Department, the Royal Columbian Hospital, the Library and the three militia units.

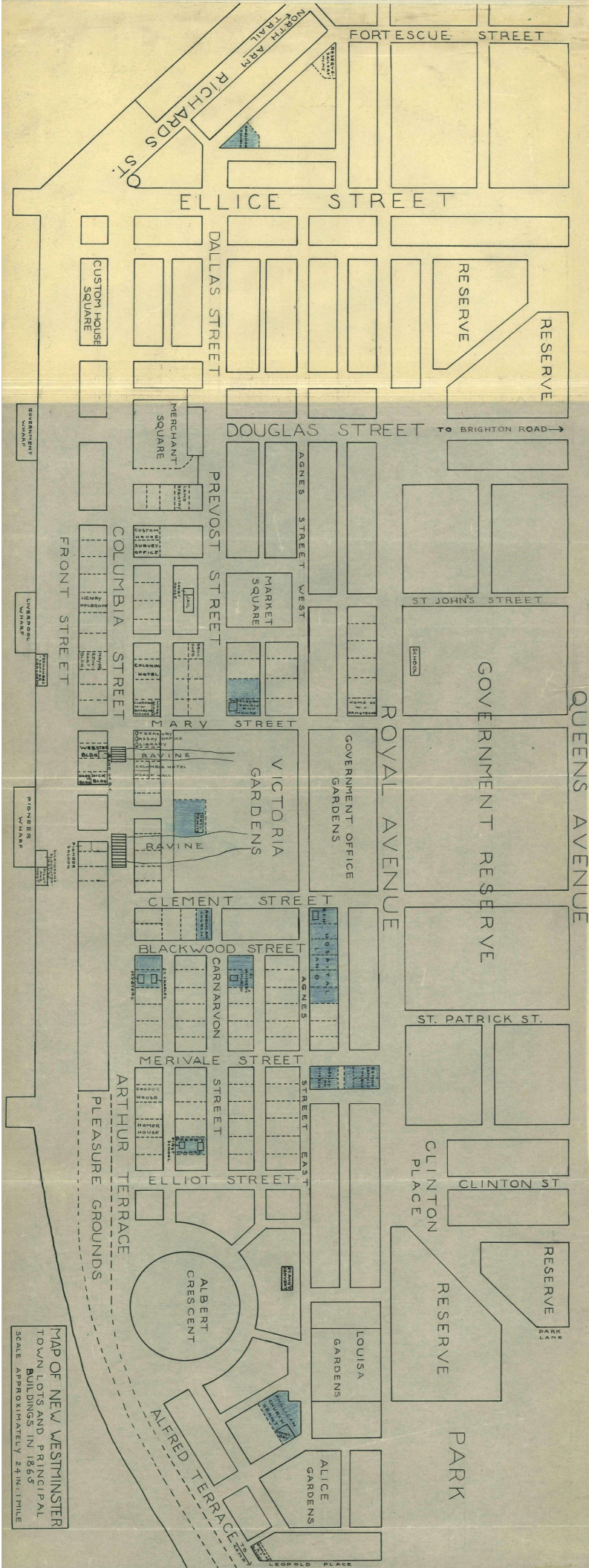
The economic history of New Westminster is mainly an account of the chief business establishments, banking facilities and the development of fishing and lumbering. A summary is given of trade and commerce at New Westminster, the port of entry for British Columbia, and of port development including buoying the mouth of the Fraser. Ships calling at New Westminster included steamers which plied regularly between Victoria, New Westminster, Hope and Yale, and ocean-going vessels which made infrequent calls. Telegraph communication was provided when New Westminster was connected with the line of the California State Telegraph in 1865. The next year it was connected with Quesnel by Western Union line.

By 1863, New Westminster had a public school under supervision of a citizens' committee. After the first school ordinance for British Columbia was enacted in 1869, control of the school passed into the hands of the Municipal Council acting in the capacity of a school board. The chapter on education also mentions the various private schools established in the City and concludes with a history of the work of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches.

The section devoted to social development includes an account of the early newspapers, notably the British Columbian, mentions the activities of various lodges, societies and associations, and tells of early entertainments, including May Day celebrations, balls at Government House and the annual celebrations held in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday.

In conclusion the thesis reiterates the fact that New Westminster and Victoria were bitter rivals and points out that because of undue

government bias towards the island City, New Westminster's development was temporarily discouraged and retarded.



MAP OF NEW WESTMINSTER
TOWN LOTS AND PRINCIPAL
BUILDINGS IN 1865
SCALE APPROXIMATELY 24 IN. = 1 MILE

THE BUILDING OF SUBURBAN ROADS AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE DISTRICT AROUND NEW WESTMINSTER.

One of the first tasks which the Royal Engineers undertook was opening up the land around the capital and building essential roads. As early as the spring of 1859 Colonel Moody decided that a road should be built from New Westminster to tide water on Burrard Inlet so that the city could be more easily defended in case of attack.¹

Military considerations were one of Colonel Moody's chief concerns. To ensure the defence of New Westminster and the surrounding territory he had constituted six reserves. The largest of these included the whole south side of the Fraser as far as the border, from two miles above the confluence of the Pitt and Fraser to six miles below New Westminster. There were two naval reserves of 110 acres and 788 acres at Jericho and Point Grey. Both sides of the First Narrows were constituted as military reserves: 354 acres of what is now Stanley Park and 950 acres of the north shore opposite the park. One hundred and fifty-five acres was set aside as a naval reserve on the south side of the inlet

1 Royal Engineers' Letter Book 3, pp. 108-110.

(later known as Granville townsite) and 110 acres near Port Moody at the head of the inlet, also became a naval reserve. On the north and south sides of the Second Narrows 190 acres and 127 acres were reserved for military purposes.²

Work on a trail from New Westminster to the Inlet was started by a group of engineers under Sergeant John McMurphy, a roadway sixty-six feet wide being surveyed for five miles due north from the Camp to reach the Inlet at a point some miles west of the present site of Port Moody.

Because of the direction it was known as the "North Road". The sappers had covered about half the distance to the Inlet when the San Juan incident occurred and the Engineers were despatched to the scene of the trouble. Colonel Moody was insistent that the road should be completed and Douglas agreed. Work on the trail was resumed during the winter of 1859-1860, some of the work being done by the Engineers themselves and some by civilian contractors. The North Road was completed in the spring of 1861 and the British Columbian reported that Burrard Inlet was "quite a resort for pleasure seekers".³ The road was actually nothing more than a wide trail, until in 1862 a party of sappers chopped the timber from the entire surveyed width.⁴ However by the

2 Ibid. p. 156; B.C. Papers, Part 3, p.78, Douglas to Newcastle, December 23, 1859.

3 British Columbian, April 4, 1861.

4 Ibid. April 10, 1862.

next spring it was declared to be unfit for vehicular traffic.

On January 4, 1860, Governor Douglas enacted the first Pre-Emption Act and the Royal Engineers were faced with the task of surveying the suburban lands.

They began at Lot 1 on the North Road worked out northward along the road as far as Lot 9, then they surveyed lots around Burnaby Lake, some along the south shore of Burrard Inlet and 2 lots on the North shore; also from the North Road to the Coquitlam River, south of a line drawn east from the south boundary of Lot 5. On the south side of the Fraser they surveyed lots 1 to 30 with lines at right angles to the River and Boundary Bay, also lots in Langley and Chilliwack.⁵

By the Pre-Emption Act it was hoped to encourage farmers to settle on the fertile lands around New Westminster as the food supply of the colony could not meet the demands of the mining camps. The first Pre-Emption Act⁶ provided for the purchase of unsurveyed Crown lands, not exceeding 160 acres to a single purchaser. The price was not to exceed ten shillings an acre and the purchasers had only to enter into possession of the land and record an application of purchase with the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. A few days later a second proclamation made it possible to purchase surveyed lands at ten shillings an acre after they

5 Draper, William, unpublished notes.

6 Imperial Blue Books, B. C. Proclamation, January 4, 1860.

had been offered at public auction.⁷ By a proclamation of January 19, 1861, the price of country land was reduced to 4 ^{s.} 2 d. an acre.⁸

Governor Douglas wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on the success of his policy.

The effect of the Pre-Emption Law is already observable in the forest clearings made by settlers in the densely wooded land on the banks of the Fraser River. The cost of clearing such land by means of hired labour ranges from £15 to £30 an acre, and it will consequently never prove an attractive investment for capital, such land cannot be cleared to advantage otherwise than by the actual settler investing his own labour in the formation of a permanent home and property for himself and family.⁹

However Douglas's enthusiasm was not shared by the colonists and the land policy of the administration was the subject of much criticism, chiefly because agricultural land was sold without any condition of settlement. "We all know that the present land system of British Columbia is rotten to its very centre; that it encourages the land-shark and discourages the hardy pioneer."¹⁰ As a consequence much of the best agricultural land was obtained by non-resident speculators. A considerable amount of land close to New Westminster was taken up by Government officials; the result

7 Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.S. British Columbia, V. 2, p. 591.

8 Proclamation No. 2, January 19, 1861, B.C. Papers, part 4, pp. 71, 72.

9 B.C. Papers, part 4, p. 6, Douglas to Newcastle, May 23, 1860.

10 British Columbian, May 9, 1861.

of this practice being that bona fide settlers were discouraged.

Ten years later the Mainland Guardian complained that "the environs of New Westminster are equally a prey to speculative land-holders and long stretches of magnificent bottom land are lying unutilized because these insatiable cormorants cannot obtain a price commensurate with their¹¹ extravagant idea of its value", and said that the nearest farm on the Pitt River road was eight miles out because all the land closer to town was still held by speculators.

Not the least of the land-grabbing officials was Colonel Moody himself who obtained land close to the capital chiefly on the North Road and around Burnaby Lake. In all he "bought" 3,750 acres for which he paid \$1.01 to \$2.42 $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre.¹² His chief holding was "Mayfield" a 200 or 300 tract on the North Road which he developed into a model farm. A letter to the editor of the British Columbian published on May 2, 1861, said in part - "Colonel Moody has done much for this place and if he would only wash his hands of land-sharkism, . . . encourage the man who will improve the land and turn the cold shoulder to the 'land-shark' he would not only be a popular but a useful man in the colony".

11 Mainland Guardian, June 11, 1870.

12 See Cope, M.C.L., Colonel Moody and the Royal Engineers in British Columbia, Appendix IX, pp. 226-227.

On May 28, 1861, Governor Douglas issued a proclamation announcing that only bona fide settlers would be permitted to take up land under the terms of the Pre-Emption Act of 1860 and the Country Land Act of 1861. The conditions of sale were to be occupancy and improvement of the land.¹³ The next month the New Westminster Municipal Council presented a petition to the Governor asking for the establishment of a centrally located land-office which would freely give information to would-be settlers. At that time persons desiring to register pre-emptions or to obtain information about available land were obliged to go to Colonel Moody's office at the Camp. Complaint was constantly made that this office was too busy with other matters to give much attention or encouragement to prospective settlers.¹⁴

By the summer of 1861 there were only thirteen farms in the vicinity of New Westminster. The total acreage under cultivation on six of these holdings was estimated at fifty acres.¹⁵ S. W. Herring had a ranch across the river from the capital with ten acres planted in vegetables. He also had a few cows and was probably New Westminster's first milk dealer.¹⁶ Three other farmers had located on the south

¹³ British Columbian, June 20, 1861.

¹⁴ Ibid. June 6, 1861.

¹⁵ Ibid. May 9, 1861.

¹⁶ Ibid. June 13, 1861.

bank of the Fraser. Mr. Armstrong had several acres of vegetables and Mr. James Kennedy had cleared land preparatory to setting our fruit trees. Mr. Armstrong's farm lay below the city while Mr. Kennedy's holding was at Anniesville. Almost opposite New Westminster Mr. Brown had pre-empted land of which ten acres was under cultivation.¹⁷ On June 4, 1861, Governor Douglas wrote to the Colonial Secretary, "The forests opposite the town are beginning to yield to the woodman's efforts; and one enterprising proprietor, Mr. Brown, has discovered on his ground a large tract of excellent land which certainly cannot be surpassed in point of fertility or quality of soil".¹⁸ A Mr. Murphy had a farm on an island in the river (probably Lulu Island) at this date, but the unfortunate gentleman was murdered by Indians in November, 1861.¹⁹

17 Ibid. September 5, 1861.

18 B. C. Papers, Part 4, p. 52, Douglas to Newcastle, June 14, 1861.

19 British Columbian, July 11, 1861; November 9, 1861. Indian Peter, alias Kayule, was tried at the Assizes of November, 1869, for the murder of Mr. Murphy. Peter, who had been working for some years at Moody's Mill, had quarrelled with Murphy over wages and had killed the whiteman. Evidence was given by the prisoner's mother-in-law who had witnessed the murder eight years before and had kept silent because she was threatened with death if she divulged what she had seen. The Indian woman said she was growing old and wished to clear her conscience. Peter was found guilty and sentenced to death.

Other early settlers were Capt. McLean on the Pitt River and Mr. S. H. Atkins on the "Quoquitlam". A trail was built from the Camp to Pitt River in 1859 by Messrs. William Clarkson and Sparrow and the Royal Engineers pastured their horses on Pitt Meadows. McLean, who started his farm at an earlier date, had seventy head of cattle, hogs and several horses, while Mr. Atkins had planted vegetables and was preparing to start an orchard.²⁰ Mr. Wm. Holmes had pre-empted land and started farming on the North Road along Brunette Creek and Colonel Moody's "Mayfield" was located further along the road.²¹

A Mr. Welsh had located along Douglas Road by the spring of 1861²² and various other claims had been made in the vicinity of Burnaby and Deer Lakes, one of the earliest being that of John French. Settlement in this direction was hampered by a Government proclamation of October, 1862, which reserved from pre-emption the land on the south side of Burrard Inlet west three miles and to a distance of one mile from the water. Also reserved was all the land lying between this reserve and French's holding on the Douglas Road.²³

A road had been built by Mr. Ross on the north bank of the Fraser running from New Westminster towards the Gulf.

20 Ibid. September 26, 1861

21 Ibid. October 10, 1861.

22 Ibid. April 4, 1861.

23 Ibid. August 15, 1862; October 15, 1862.

It started from the end of Royal Avenue and continued westward past Homer's mill.²⁴ By October, 1861, it was completed for a distance of three miles and along it Mr. H. A. McKee had pre-empted an "excellent claim of part prairie and part woodland".²⁵ Further down the river Mr. Hugh McRoberts had just purchased 1,300 acres of grassland on Sea Island and the mainland with land scrip. In April, 1862, tenders were called by the Lands and Works Department for construction of a ten mile wagon road, eighteen feet wide, as near the North Arm of the Fraser as swampy ground would permit, to be a continuation of the three mile road built the previous year by Mr. Ross.²⁶ No record was found of this contract being awarded, but Hugh McRoberts did cut a trail down the north arm as far as the Musqueam Indian Reserve, taking payment in land scrip. The cost of the road was given as £720.²⁷ McRoberts' trail followed closely along the route of the existing River Road.

A trail had been built under Government contract by James Kennedy from his pre-emption at Annieville. It followed up the river as far as Brownsville wharf, opposite New Westminster, and thence on about four miles to connect with the Langley trail.²⁸ In the other direction it followed

24 B. C. Despatches, p. 478, Douglas to Newcastle, June 15, 1863; British Columbian, March 14, 1861.

25 British Columbian, October 10, 1861.

26 Ibid. April 10, 1862.

27 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

28 British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

the route now used by the Great Northern Railway, to Oliver Slough, Mud Bay.

When Governor Douglas visited the capital in the spring of 1861 he wrote the Duke of Newcastle, "...the most interesting feature about New Westminster is the newly formed line of roads". He mentioned the roads north of the town, expressed the hope that they would lead to settlement and added that "a similar result in promoting early settlement is anticipated from another new line of road which is being formed on the left bank of the Fraser, commencing a little below New Westminster and running in a southerly direction towards the frontier".²⁹

One of the first country roads constructed was a road to the region around Burnaby Lake where a number of settlers had established claims. To connect this area with the capital, plans were made for extending Douglas Street. A contract for continuing it four and a half miles at £79 a mile was let to Sparrow and McDonald who soon abandoned the project. In February, 1861, the contract was re-awarded to Murray and Kelso, but they also were unable to complete it and went bankrupt. By June they had opened it about four and one-half miles to the stream connecting Deer Lake to Burnaby Lake. In April of the following year tenders were called by Captain Grant of the Lands and Works Department for con-

²⁹ B. C. Papers, Part 4, p. 52, Douglas to Newcastle, June 4, 1861.

struction of a wagon road, eighteen feet wide, from six miles out to a "blazed tree on the South Shore of Burrard Inlet, at the Second Narrows".³⁰ Apparently no tenders were received or, what is more likely, the Government decided to defer construction of the road because of lack of money.

In December, 1862, the Municipal Council of New Westminster sent a letter to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works urging completion of the road as far as the Inlet.³¹ Nothing was done and the following spring the Council addressed a further appeal to the Government. In reply the Governor said that he could not sanction construction of the road unless the funds were provided from local taxation. The Municipal Council would not agree to increase the already heavy tax rate although they considered the road a prime necessity. Writing to Colonel Moody, Henry Holbrook, President of the Council, said in part.

...we feel bound to call His Excellency's attention to the fact that we have already by additional and voluntary taxation, contributed largely towards clearing and making the streets of the City, work which in accordance with the terms expressed at the sale of the site as 'the Capital of the Colony' the Government was bound to perform out of the proceeds of the said sale; a condition, which up to the present time, the Government have failed to fulfil. We object to any increase in the burden of taxation borne by the inhabitants of this municipality, and we consider it our duty to submit to His Excellency that however important it is that roads should be

³⁰ British Columbian, April 10, 1862.

³¹ Ibid. December 20, 1862.

made to the mines, it is no less important that goods roads should be made by the Government in the neighbourhood of this City to facilitate the supply of food to its inhabitants, who numbered on the average 1,500 during the past year, and to induce increase to our rural population. We call His Excellency's attention to the circumstances that more permanent settlers are resident in this City and District than are to be found in all other parts of the Colony taken collectively, and we therefore still urge the construction of the road in question even if it should be found necessary to issue (as has been done for other similar works) Road Bonds payable with interest at a future date in liquidation of the same.³²

When Frederic Seymour succeeded James Douglas as Governor the colonists once again petitioned for completion of the road, and in October, 1864, J. T. Scott was awarded a contract to improve the existing section above Royal Avenue and continue the road from Burnaby Lake to the Inlet, a distance of about nine miles.³³ Payment was set at \$1,800 a mile. Scott commenced work October 10 with sixty men. Notices were posted advertising for two hundred men, wages to be \$35 a month for graders and \$40 for axemen, plus board. On November 5, the British Columbian reported that the choppers were five miles out and the graders two, with the former expected to reach the Inlet the following week. The paper complained that the road was rather winding and that timber and brush had been left in unsightly heaps on either

32 Letter in Provincial Archives, Holbrook to Moody, June 1, 1863.

33 British Columbian, October 12, 1864.

side. In January, 1865, Mr. Scott re-let the remaining three and a half miles of the road in small sections.³⁴

By May, 1865, Mr. Scott had completed a rough road from New Westminster to the Inlet, but at a cost of over \$3,000 a mile and he too went into bankruptcy. Mr. Scott drove Governor Seymour and the Colonial Secretary over the road on May 14. "We have no description of the trip, but it requires little imagination to realize its discomfort ... many low, wet places remained that were far softer and more miry than the higher ground; the worst marshy spots were covered with that terrible pioneer material - corduroy."³⁵

An editorial in the British Columbian complained that the portion of Douglas Street above Queen's Avenue was almost impassable, "a mere trail, winding through amongst the stumps".³⁶

Messrs. Brouse and Ross, working under Government contract, had in 1860 laid out a trail from the capital to False Creek. The purpose of this route was to enable troops to reach tide-water there if ships should be unable to go through the First Narrows because of adverse tides or winds. Although Colonel Moody considered the road of foremost

³⁴ Ibid. January 4, 1865.

³⁵ Howay, F. W., Early Settlement on Burrard Inlet, B. C. Historical Quarterly, April, 1937, pp. 105, 106.

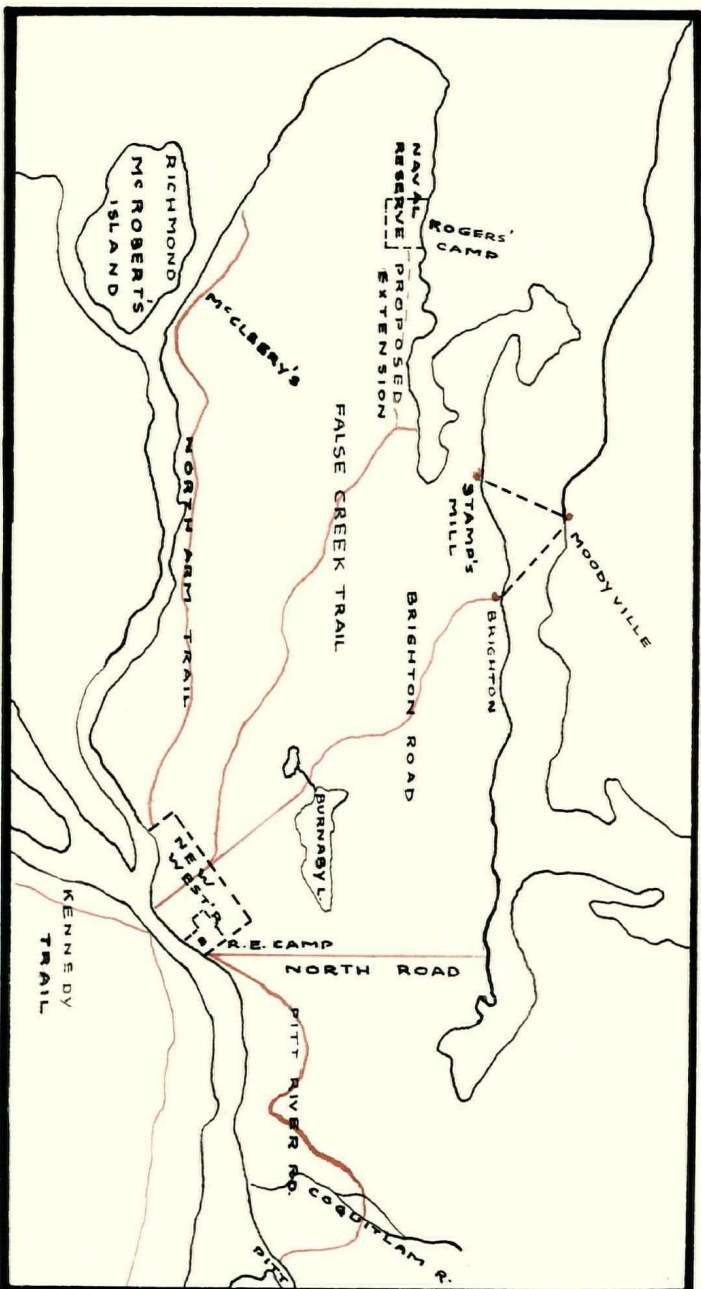
³⁶ British Columbian, March 16, 1865.

military importance Governor Douglas refused to sanction construction until he received authority from the Secretary of State.³⁷ The trail started from Douglas Road near the present Fourteenth Avenue and reached False Creek near the spot which now marks the end of the Granville Street Bridge. Colonel Moody wished to continue the trail on to the naval reserve at Jericho but Governor Douglas refused to authorize the expenditure at that time. Yielding to Moody's persuasion Douglas later gave his consent, and in February, 1861, the Chief Commissioner called for tenders to continue the trail six miles along the shores of False Creek and English Bay³⁸ but no record was found of this proposed extension being made. The original trail was merely a narrow path through the forest and it soon became overgrown. In 1868 Governor Seymour informed the Colonial Office that the trail was impassable.³⁹ However in October, 1862, John Morton, travelling along this trail with an Indian guide in search of pottery clay, viewed the land where Vancouver stands today. Morton; his cousin, Sam Brighthouse; and William Hailstone bought 550 acres extending from Burrard Inlet to English Bay at \$1.01 an acre.

37 B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Newcastle, February 27, 1860.

38 British Columbian, February 21, 1861.

39 B. C. Despatches, Seymour to Buckingham, February 2, 1868.



TRAILS FROM NEW WESTMINSTER

SKETCH MAP - NOT DRAWN TO SCALE

The British Columbian of April 18, 1861, recorded that the Governor had promised to build a road to Pitt River but that he had failed to implement his promise. However the road was built by private contract during the winter of 1861-1862 and paid for partly in land scrip. Tenders for various sections were awarded to Messrs. Hodgkinson, Hall, Fulton, David Johnstone, William Clarkson, Woodside and William Ross. The total cost of the road was £3,867. 0. 8.⁴⁰ The road was eight miles long and ran from the Brunette to the Pitt. For some strange reason the portion of the road from the Camp to the Brunette was not completed.⁴¹

The fact that these roads were built did not mean that they were a safe or certain means of communication. Actually they were not "roads" in the modern sense of the word. In many cases they were merely paths cleared through the forest by felling trees and making a crude attempt to level the ground. Such roads were often rendered impassable either by heavy rains which turned the roadway to mud or else by falling trees caused by forest fires or high winds. Other roads were of corduroy construction - cedar logs either covered with earth and gravel or, more usually, left exposed.

Constant complaints were made about the condition of the roads, chiefly about the road to Burrard Inlet as this

40 B. C. Despatches, p. 478, Douglas to Newcastle, June 15, 1863.

41 British Columbian, June 21, 1862.

was the chief highway of the Lower Mainland. The Brighton Road (Douglas Road) was blocked by fallen trees for weeks⁴² during the summer of 1864. It was again impassable the following summer and in the summer of 1867 it was in such a bad state that a petition was circularized and presented to the Government demanding that the road be repaired. Five men were put to work in September of that year but this inadequate work-party could make very little permanent impression on the road and in December it was once again closed to traffic,⁴³ forcing the stage to cease operation. The British Columbian of December 11 reported the arrival at Burrard Inlet of the steamer Isabel from Victoria, with Hon. Capt. Stamp, Dr. Helmcken and Hon. J. W. Trutch. The two latter gentlemen walked over to New Westminster on the evening of their arrival. The Columbian added that the road was in a deplorable state and "had the Chief Commissioner stuck fast in one of the great mud-holes, entirely due to his own negligence, or something worse, the verdict of the public would have been, 'Served him right.'"

In January the paper reported the road to "our magnificent outer harbour" was in good condition thanks to⁴⁴ Jack Frost. However once the frost went out of the ground

42 Ibid. August 1, 1865.

43 Ibid. December 4, 1867.

44 Ibid. January 8, 1868.

the road was in as bad condition as ever. The Columbian once more published an editorial about the deplorable condition of the road. "The Government is not sweet upon the road. But we venture to hope that road-making will not, like⁴⁵ kissing, go by mere favour."

In April the Government did undertake to repair the Brighton Road, employing a considerable number of men for the work, but the improvement was only temporary. Fallen trees blocked the road that summer and the next winter it was⁴⁶ in such bad condition as to be again impassable. A road petition was again circulated, but nothing was done and in the spring the road was once more closed to traffic. Mr. Thomas Spence was authorized to undertake repair work but his expenditure was limited to \$2,000, a sum totally inadequate⁴⁷ for the extensive repairs which were urgently required. In the spring of 1870 Mr. Spence was again at work repairing the⁴⁸ Brighton Road. He placed corduroy on the road wherever the swampy nature of the ground made that advisable. The logs, while giving the road a more solid foundation, were responsible for the death of Dr. A. W. S. Black. Dr. Black was returning to New Westminster from an emergency call to Burrard Inlet

45 Ibid. April 5, 1868.

46 Ibid. December 12, 1868.

47 Ibid. April 25, 1869.

48 Mainland Guardian, May 11, 1870.

when his horse slipped on the corduroy and he was thrown to his death. In the early summer of 1871 the logs were⁴⁹ covered.

By June, 1864, the trail down the north bank of the Fraser towards the Gulf was declared to be impassable.⁵⁰ It remained in this condition until June, 1871, when the Government called for tenders for opening up and corduroying⁵¹ it for sixteen miles from New Westminster to Betts' farm.

Most of the North Road was closed to traffic from 1863 until some years after Confederation. The bridges were allowed to go to ruin and by 1869 traffic was possible only⁵² as far as Brunette Creek.

The Pitt River road had never been extended beyond its original length despite agitation for its continuation. Governor Seymour's prorogation speech of May, 1868, announced that His Excellency thought it would be possible for the Government to survey a line to extend the road from the Pitt to St. Mary's Mission but that no money was available for⁵³ immediate construction of such a road. In the issue of June 24, 1868, the British Columbian complained that nothing had been done about making the survey and that people were

49 Ibid. June 7, 1871.

50 British Columbian, June 22, 1864.

51 Mainland Guardian, June 14, 1871.

52 British Columbian, August 26, 1868; Mainland Guardian, October 16, 1869.

53 British Columbian, May 2, 1868.

anxious to know the route of the road so they would know where to locate their farms.

As the False Creek trail had fallen into ruin, the Brighton Road was the only road to the Inlet. There was no direct communication with "Stamp's" Mill. In the spring of 1870 a petition signed by many residents of New Westminster and Burrard Inlet was sent down to Hon. John Robson, M.L.C., asking him to urge upon the Government the construction of a road to reach Burrard Inlet at "Granville".⁵⁴ In 1872 the trail was recut but no road was constructed until the building of Kingsway.

As early as 1860 the first settler arrived in Maple Ridge and there was at an early date quite a number of settlers around Langley.⁵⁵ The earliest attempts at extensive farming were made at Chilliwack and Sumas. In the summer of 1862 the first settlers took up land in this area and by 1866, 4,860 acres had been pre-empted there of which 653 acres were under cultivation.⁵⁶ The first settlers at Chilliwack were Thomas Marks and John Barber and at Sumas, V. Veddar. In 1866 Messrs. Kipp and Reece, who had arrived three years previously, had an 800 acre farm with 350 acres planted with timothy, hay, turnips, Indian corn and vegetables.

⁵⁴ Mainland Guardian, March 2, 1870.

⁵⁵ British Columbian, November 5, 1862.

⁵⁶ Ibid. September 19, 1866.

They had 340 head of cattle, 20 horses, 220 hogs, 250 fowl and sold considerable quantities of cheese, butter and eggs. Other early settlers in the Chilliwack area were James Bertrand, Reuben Nowell, Henry Cooper, John Blanchard, Matthew Sweetman, Charles Evans, William Hall and John Shelford, who also kept a store. In the Sumass Settlement the Chadsey Brothers were growing similar crops and had in addition 1,700 tobacco plants. During the summer of 1866 they sold 2,000 pounds of butter. In the summer of 1868 the Chadseys tried a new experiment in marketing, taking a team to the Cariboo with 2,500 pounds of fresh butter put up in two, five and ten

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pound cans. Also in the Sumas area were William Collinson, Lewis Thomas, Thomas York, L. P. Anderson, Crawford and Wilson, Mr. Boles, J. Burton and James Codville. Codville also ran a hotel and ferry at Codville's landing on Nicomen

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Island.

As has already been mentioned Hugh McRoberts pre-empted land near the mouth of the river in the spring of 1861. His main holding, which was on Sea Island, he called "Rich-

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mond". In the fall of 1861 he brought 100 head of cattle

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from Oregon. The stock was pastured at Sumas during the

57 Ibid. July 25, 1868.

58 Ibid. September 19, 1866.

59 Ibid. September 13, 1862.

60 Ibid. January 16, 1862.

winter of 1861-62 and, due to the severity of the weather, 75 cattle died. By the autumn of 1862 McRoberts was reported as having 54 cattle. His total acreage was estimated at 1,560 acres of which 12 were under cultivation with 650 fruit trees planted on part of the rest.⁶¹ In September, 1862, McRoberts was joined by his nephews, Samuel and Fitzgerald McCleery who pre-empted land on the mainland opposite "Richmond". About 1864 Mr. McRoberts dyked his land and the following year it produced a crop of wheat.

When John Morton and William Hailstone leased their holdings around English Bay and went to California in 1864, Samuel Brighthouse purchased a 697 acre tract on Lulu Island. Four years later, in 1868, William D. Ferris started farming on the island⁶² although he still maintained a residence at New Westminster.⁶³

Moody and Company pre-empted 500 acres at Mud Bay⁶⁴ in 1861 and brought in cattle from Oregon early the next year.⁶⁵ One of the first settlers on the south delta of the Fraser was William Henry Ladner who purchased 640 acres there in 1868.⁶⁶ His brother, Thomas E. Ladner, took up land shortly after. T. E. Ladner's home at New Westminster was destroyed

61 Ibid. September 13, 1862.

62 Ibid. July 29, 1868.

63 Mainland Guardian, September 25, 1869.

64 British Columbian, October 10, 1861.

65 Ibid. January 16, 1862.

66 Ibid. July 29, 1868.

by fire in March, 1870, and probably he took up residence on
the delta soon after that date.⁶⁷

The first permanent settlement on Burrard Inlet came as a result of mills being established there. In 1862 a water power mill known as "Pioneer Mills" was established on the north shore of the Inlet by T. W. Graham. The mill was sold to J. A. Smith and later to S. P. Moody and the settlement which grew up around it soon became known as Moodyville. In April, 1867, a mill was put in operation on the south shore by the British Columbia and Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber and Sawmill Company. The first manager of this mill was Capt. Edward Stamp and consequently it was usually referred to as "Stamp's Mill". (Later it was known as Hastings Mill.)

A townsite, later known as Hastings, had been reserved by the Government in 1860 or 1861 near the Second Narrows. In 1863 a party of Royal Engineers under Lance-Corporal George Turner surveyed lots along the south shore of Burrard Inlet, west of Second Narrows, and made a complete transverse of the shore line from this reserve around the Inlet and into False Creek. Lance-Corporal Turner started his survey at the townsite reserve and surveyed lots 184, 183, 182, and 181 running westward along the Inlet. Next to lot 181 was a townsite reserve, then lot 185, whose western

⁶⁷ Mainland Guardian, March 9, 1870.

boundary was the military reserve at the First Narrows (Stanley Park). Out of part of this second townsite reserve, lot 196 was created, and on lot 196 "Stamp's" mill was erected. Part of the remainder of this reserve was later laid out as Granville townsite. Lot 185 was pre-empted by Hailstone, Morton and Brighthouse and lots 184, 183, 182 and 181 were granted in 1863 and 1864 to John Graham, Thomas Ranaldson, H. P. P. Crease and Robert Burnaby respectively. ⁶⁸

Hastings Townsite was at the end of the Douglas Road which was completed in 1865. Although the townsite was surveyed the land was not offered for sale. It was merely the "end of the road" but soon, at the suggestion of John Robson, editor of the British Columbian it came to be called "Brighton". The Brighton Hotel was opened in August, 1865, and this section of Burrard Inlet became "a favorite resort for those who wish a pleasant Buggy-ride". ⁶⁹

In July, 1867, soon after Stamp's Mill commenced operation, Mr. W. R. Lewis started a semi-weekly stage service over the Douglas Road from New Westminster to Brighton. The stage left the Oro Restaurant, Columbia Street, every Tuesday and Friday at noon, returning the same day, the fare being one dollar each way. ⁷⁰ Although only a semi-weekly service

68 Howay, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

69 British Columbian, August 1, 1865; June 27, 1868.

70 Ibid. July 17, 1867.

was originally planned business was so brisk that by October the stage was making the trip every day. By the end of his first year in business Mr. Lewis was running two stages, one of four horses and the other of two. An opposition stage line operated by John McBean and Company was started in September, 1868, offering daily service to Brighton, but this company only remained in operation a little over a month.⁷¹ At this time a steam ferry, the Sea Foam,⁷² was placed in service between Brighton and Moodyville. There was no direct route from Brighton to Stamp's Mill and in order to reach the mill from the "end of the road" one had to ferry over to Moodyville and then cross back over the Inlet to the mill.

In March, 1869, Mr. Lewis secured the contract to carry the mail between New Westminster and the Inlet. The same month the Brighton Hotel was sold to Maximillien Michaud⁷³ who also became postmaster without pay.

The Assistant Surveyor General of British Columbia, B. M. Pearse, surveyed and laid out a townsite at Brighton in November, 1868.⁷⁴ The following May this site was gazetted⁷⁵ as "Hastings", and in August an auction sale was conducted

71 Ibid. September 30, 1868; November 7, 1868.

72 Ibid. November 7, 1868.

73 Howay, op. cit., p. 108.

74 British Columbian, November 21, 1868.

75 Ibid. May 16, 1869.

at the Court House, New Westminster, at which time the town lots at Hastings were offered for sale, only seven being purchased.

In October, 1867, Jack Deighton (Gassy Jack) opened an hotel near Stamp's Mill. The group of buildings which grew up around Stamp's Mill was known as "Gastown" until March, 1870, when it was gazetted as "Granville". In April, 1870, Granville lots were offered at auction but only three were sold.⁷⁶

In the spring of 1869 telegraph communication was established between New Westminster and Moodyville. The line was laid by S. P. Moody and Company to connect their mill with the city.⁷⁷ The poles followed the Brighton Road to Burrard Inlet, where an underwater cable was laid under the Inlet.⁷⁸ Mr. Moody allowed the general public to use the line. Telegrams to New Westminster cost twenty-five cents until April 1, 1871, when the price was raised to fifty cents.⁷⁹

Moodyville was the largest and most progressive of the three settlements on Burrard Inlet. Mr. Joseph Burr had established a ranch near Moodyville and kept milk cows, and Messrs. G. Black and Van Bramer had imported cattle and established a stock ranch and butchering business.⁸⁰

76 Mainland Guardian, April 13, 1870.

77 British Columbian, March 16, 1869.

78 Ibid. April 25, 1869; May 29, 1869.

79 Howay, op. cit., p. 112.

80 British Columbian, August 17, 1867.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The development of the Government of the colony of British Columbia is inextricably bound up with the history of New Westminster because New Westminster, as the only centre on the mainland with a relatively large, fixed and stable population, naturally took the lead in agitation against the Government. Many of the residents of the Cariboo, whose interest in the colony was purely transitory, were very little concerned with the Government or its policies so long as their interests were safeguarded. New Westminster provided in a great measure the impetus which led to the establishment of representative institutions in British Columbia and it was the centre of political agitation on the mainland until Confederation.

By the Act of Proclamation of 1858 the colony of British Columbia was to have a Legislature consisting of a Governor and Council or a Governor and Assembly. Governor Douglas was given authority by Sir E. Lytton to choose an Executive composed of "men whom, if an elective council were ultimately established in the colony, the immigrants them-

selves would be likely to elect".¹

Douglas failed to carry out Lytton's wish and on February 5, 1859, he wrote the Colonial Secretary, ". . . no Executive has as yet been formally appointed for British Columbia still I have called to my assistance Colonel Moody and Judge Begbie as members of that Council and we have already met upon several occasions, to confer upon the policy to be pursued and upon various measures to be adopted in connection with the future government of the colony".²

The Executive Council was formally appointed on March 1, 1859.³

As early as July, 1859, the people of New Westminster sent a petition to the Governor asking for the establishment of an Executive Council composed of "chief public servants and some of the most respectable merchants and residents". They complained that: "With the exception of Gibraltar, which is more a military fortress than a settlement, we believe that, in no other British colony, but B. C., does a Governor reign absolute"⁴

Another grievance of the people of New Westminster was the fact that the Government officials did not reside in the mainland colony. The first civil list for British Columbia

1 Begg, Alexander, History of British Columbia, p. 225.

2 B. C. Despatches, Douglas to Lytton, February 5, 1859.

3 Ibid. March 1, 1859.

4 New Westminster Times, September 24, 1859.

listed eight officers:

£1,800	James Douglas	- Governor
800	Matthew Begbie	- Judge
500	W. A. G. Young	- Colonial Secretary
500	Capt. W. D. Gosset	- Treasurer
400	George H. Cary	- Attorney-General
500	Chartres Brew	- Inspector of Police
400	Wymond Hamley	- Collector of Customs
400	James Cooper	- Harbourmaster

Although these officials were appointed for the colony of British Columbia, most of them resided in Victoria. In fact, W. A. G. Young, who was appointed Colonial Secretary, held the same position in the Colony of Vancouver Island.

The people of New Westminster soon protested against the non-residence of the officials. On the evening of July 12, 1859, a meeting was held at Holbrook's store on Columbia Street. Mr. Holbrook was appointed Chairman and W. E. Stronach was chosen Secretary. The meeting resulted in the formation of a political society known as the "Reform League" whose purpose was "to aid in procuring such laws as will give us an agricultural as well as mining and trading population, to reduce the expenditures of the government within the means of the Colony and thus avoid the enormous debt which is everyday being accumulated upon us...."⁵

At the end of July a delegation from the Reform League composed of Mr. Holbrook and Mr. Armstrong went to Victoria with a petition to the Governor signed by 130

⁵ Victoria Gazette, July 14, 1859.

residents of New Westminster asking that a more liberal land policy be adopted and that Government officials should live on the mainland.⁶ As a result of this representation the Duke of Newcastle informed the Governor that the officials must take up residence on the mainland. "This state of things must be put to an end at once and the gentlemen in question must be warned that they must repair with the least practicable delay to the scene of their duties, or, if they decline to do so, must at once resign their situations."⁷

Douglas retained the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney-General at Victoria, but Capt. Gosset, the Treasurer, moved to New Westminster in the autumn of 1860.

Although some of the officials were transferred to the mainland, the people of British Columbia were still far from satisfied with the state of affairs. The chief reason for their dissatisfaction lay in the person of the Governor. From the beginning Douglas had, by his dictatorial methods, aroused the bitter enmity of the colonists, especially that of the people of New Westminster. In May, 1860, 443 British subjects in the Colony of British Columbia presented Douglas with a petition asking that Her Majesty should remove him from his position as Governor of British Columbia and that a

⁶ Ibid. July 30, 1859.

⁷ B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 101, Newcastle to Douglas, September 5, 1859.

representative system of government should be established. At the same time the New Westminster Municipal Council had sent a memorial to Governor Douglas to which he replied, "I have not the power to confer Representative Institutions upon this colony".⁹

This petition was presented either just before or just after Douglas had entertained the "elite" of New Westminster to a steamer excursion to the Pitt River but "neither the excursion nor the charms of high society (could) seduce the people's party from doing their duty."

The Colonist, in an editorial titled "Vinegar vs. Molasses" described the Governor's party:

The coolest piece of assurance ever perpetrated in B. C. was lately done at New Westminster.... It appears that His Excellency Governor Douglas wished to "soft sawder" the denizens of Westminster to overlook his two years' misgovernment....In pursuance of so grand a piece of state policy, all the elite of the city received invitations bearing the vice-regal arms to make an excursion on board the steamer Maria to Pitt River....The excursion was enjoyed and the party returned. No doubt His Excellency thought the Westminsterites had been effectually steamboated in the Yankee sense of the word. It turned out, however, next morning, that some one else was steamboated, and that all the molasses sweets had changed to vinegar. For the people, having done due honor to Her Majesty and being full of zeal to do still greater honor

8 B. C. Despatches, p. 88, Douglas to Newcastle, June 22, 1860.

9 British Columbian, February 28, 1861.

presented His Excellency next morning with a petition asking Her Majesty to remove him from the Governorship of B. C., because unfitted for the position.

10

In forwarding this petition to the Duke of Newcastle, Douglas told the Colonial Secretary that it could be divided into two parts, "vituperation of the Governor" and an appeal for representative government. The first part he dismissed lightly, saying most of the people were content. To the second charge, he responded that the colony was not yet ready for representative government.

11

In August, the New Westminster Council sent an address to the Prince of Wales on behalf of New Westminster and the whole of British Columbia. The subject of the memorial was absentee officials. The British Colonist commented on the address to His Royal Highness:

The New Westminster Council are an eminently practical people. The future monarch must be used. He must be informed that absolute and absentee governors, secretaries, attorney-generals, and such ilk, are playing truant, and that the only hope of B. C. is the New Westminster Council and the "heir apparent". We think the end justifies the means.

12

The Governor General of Canada acknowledged receipt of the address. He said he would forward the memorial to the Prince of Wales, who had already left Canada

10 British Colonist, June 5, 1860.

11 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

12 British Colonist, August 24, 1860.

13
when the petition arrived. Nothing came of either of these memorials.

Late in 1860, the Town Clerk of New Westminster, Valentine Hall, acting on the suggestion of Leonard McClure, editor of the New Westminster Times, prepared a petition which was presented to the Municipal Council, suggesting that a convention be called, attended by delegates from every district in British Columbia, to press for a redress of grievances and the establishment of representative government. A meeting was held in Mr. Cormack's store on January 1, 1861, to elect the New Westminster delegates. At this meeting it soon became apparent that a small clique, headed by McClure, was planning to rush through the election of its candidates and a resolution was passed postponing the elections until the tenth. Nomination day was to be January 8 and a public meeting was to be held that evening to enable the candidates to present their views. Prior to this second meeting a rival group met at Mr. Tilley's store and nominated five candidates on the "Reform Ticket". Their nominees were: J. T. Scott, a Scotchman, J. A. R. Homer, a Nova Scotian, William Clarkson and E. B. Holt, both Canadians of English birth, and William Holmes, a native of Northern Ireland who had spent many years in Canada. The opposition or "Government Ticket"

included Messrs. McClure, Henry Holbrook, Armstrong, Cormack and Brouse. The reason this group was so-called was that it proposed that the object of the Convention should be "to assist the Governor in discharge of his arduous duties" while the reform party planned to "obtain a Resident Governor and representative institutions and meantime seek the redress of our most pressing grievances."¹⁴ The results of the "unofficial" election held on January 10 at Cormack's store were Scott, 186 votes; Holmes, 160; Homer, 158; Clarkson, 115; Holt, 109; Holbrook, 101; McClure, 88; Armstrong, 83; Brouse, 47, and Cormack, 34. The entire slate of Reform candidates was returned. The New Westminster Times charged that the reform party had been elected by the foreign vote, but the poll book was "thoroughly analysed by responsible and disinterested parties" and it was found that 447 British subjects and 232 foreigners voted for the reform group and 235 British and 112 foreigners for the opposition.¹⁵

Invitations to send delegates were forwarded to Hope, Douglas, Yale, Cayoosh (Lillooet), Lytton, Quesnelle Forks, Fort Alexander, Cariboo, Rock Creek and Similkameen, but only the first two mentioned availed themselves of this opportunity. Donald Chisholm and J. Spencer Thompson were elected at Hope and Duncan Robertson and Thomas Cooper at

¹⁴ British Columbian, February 13, 1861.

¹⁵ Loc. cit.

Douglas.

The "British Columbia Convention" met on February 15 at J. T. Scott's "Pioneer Theatre", Columbia Street, New Westminster. The entrance to the theatre was decorated with evergreens and placards bearing slogans such as "Free Institutions for B. C." and "Briton's Rights". The meeting opened with a royal salute of 21 guns. J. A. R. Homer was elected Chairman of the Convention, which continued until February 21.

Of the meeting Governor Douglas remarked, "As the meeting was conducted with perfect order and good humour, no official notice was taken of the meeting, other than would have been given to any public exhibition got up for the amusement of the people."¹⁶

A delegation of eight, headed by J. A. R. Homer, was appointed to meet the Governor. Douglas declined to meet them "as representatives of the inhabitants of British Columbia, but met them as a deputation of Her Majesty's subjects from Douglas, Hope and New Westminster."¹⁷

The memorial presented to Governor Douglas and forwarded by him to the Colonial Secretary in London contained several requests. The two chief demands were for a resident

¹⁶ B. C. Despatches, pp. 226-241, Douglas to Newcastle, April 22, 1861.

¹⁷ Loc. cit.

Governor, entirely unconnected with Vancouver Island, and the establishment of representative institutions. Because the Government officials were residing on Vancouver Island, persons desiring to do business with the Governor had to go to Victoria and on their return pay an additional one dollar head tax. Other complaints were against excessive taxes, squandering of money on public works and road contracts without these contracts being offered by public notice, faulty administration of public lands, and want of a registry office. The memorialists also contended that Victoria was being favoured at the expense of British Columbia and that no encouragement was given to ship-building or foreign trade in the mainland colony.¹⁸

One of New Westminster's chief objections to the Government's policy was its creation of Victoria as a free port, which resulted in the island city becoming the forwarding port for the entire mainland. Goods coming into British Columbia were charged a ten per cent. duty if imported by a dealer but were allowed in free of charge for an individual for his own use. Thus an individual could go to Victoria and buy goods more cheaply than they could be purchased at New Westminster. Naturally, this discriminatory tariff, "which is vampire-like sucking our life blood,"¹⁹ worked a tremendous

18 Loc. cit.

19 British Columbian, April 14, 1861.

hardship on merchants on the mainland.

Douglas, in forwarding the memorial to the Duke of Newcastle, denied all the colonists' accusations. He contended that it would be impossible for the Governor to live at New Westminster. He quoted the population of the three towns represented at the Convention:

New Westminster	- 164 adult males
Hope	- 108 adult males
Douglas	- 33 adult males

Because of small population, the Governor did not favour establishing a representative assembly.

The Colonial Office ignored the memorial. Another petition was sent in the fall of the same year after a meeting of the British Columbia Convention at Hope. This second meeting of the Convention opened on September 10 with J. A. R. Homer in the chair, other delegates from New Westminster being William Clarkson and E. B. Holt. Lytton was represented as well as Douglas and Hope. A memorial was drawn up calling attention to the fact that the memorials of May, 1860, and February, 1861, were still unanswered, and listing the colonists' grievances.²⁰ J. A. R. Homer again headed the delegation which met the Governor. Douglas forwarded their memorial to the Duke of Newcastle with this

²⁰ Ibid. September 19, 1861.

comment:

I have refused to receive them in their assumed character of "The Britist Columbia Convention". The term is associated with revolution and holds out a menace--the subject has an undoubted right to petition his sovereign but the term convention terms something more, it means coercion. I have no desire to accuse the authors of this memorial of entertaining any malevolent designs, the majority of them being known as quiet, well meaning tradesmen, sincerely attached, I believe, to the Institutions of the Colony, but at the same time have not disposed to overlook the fact that they may become for seditious purposes, the dupes of artful men. I have therefore charged the Magistrates to keep an eye over their movements and not to interfere with their proceedings so long as they commit no violation of the law.

21

The chief requests of the memorialists were, as previously, a resident Governor and officials, and representative institutions. They also asked for a public hospital, mail service, public schools, a gold escort, land grants to the Episcopal church, and complained of the lack of an official survey of the colony.

Governor Douglas commented on these requests in a letter which he sent to the Colonial Office in company with the memorial. He still did not favour the establishment of representative government and argued that all the colonial officials except the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General and himself were resident in British Columbia. He declared that British Columbia could not afford a hospital and that schools would be opened when needed.. He remarked

that there were already two schools in New Westminster and that there were few children of school age elsewhere in the Colony. He contended that there was already mail service to Douglas, Hope, and Yale, and added that a colonial survey would be made when needed.

Three petitions had now been addressed to the British Government and no reply had been received to any of them. The people of the colony began to doubt that Douglas had forwarded them to the Colonial Office.

Hatred of Governor Douglas and resentment of his policies reached almost a fever pitch in New Westminster. This antipathy is epitomized in the writings of John Robson, editor of the British Columbian, who poured forth a constant stream of criticism against the Governor and his tyrannical acts. "We are in a state of veriest serfdom . . . and the result will be one universal burst of long pent-up indignation, which will appal the Imperial, and shatter the Colonial Government."²²

Douglas was called the "arch enemy of British Columbia" and the British Columbian reported that when the Governor visited New Westminster on May 10, 1861, and walked through the crowd from the wharf to the Custom House "all was as still as the grave, not the slightest attempt to get

²² British Columbian, May 2, 1861.

up a cheer, broke in ²³open the death-like stillness of the scene." The paper noted the arrival of the "Czar" in April, 1862, "after an absence of six months and nineteen ²⁴days from his dominions." and shortly after remarked that the people of British Columbia "have borne more political wrong and government oppression than can be recorded of any ²⁵British people during the present century."

"Are then the sons of Britons so degenerate and debased that when Russians are being freed they are content ²⁶to remain serfs in B. C.?"

Governor Douglas, by his very training with the Hudson's Bay Company, was used to giving orders and having them obeyed. John Robson, who came to British Columbia from Ontario, was used to a representative system of government, and he could not endure subjection to an autocrat. Later, when speaking at a Confederation meeting held at New Westminster on April 6, 1868, Robson mentioned the Rebellion of 1837 and said, "I was proud to know that my forefathers were found up on the side of the Loyalists in that sanguinary ²⁷struggle." Many of the pioneer citizens of New Westminster were likewise accustomed to a considerable measure of self-

23 Ibid. May 16, 1861.

24 Ibid. April 30, 1862.

25 Ibid. July 9, 1862.

26 Ibid. July 16, 1862.

27 Ibid. April 8, 1868.

government and they balked at Douglas' despotism.

The New Westminster Municipal Council called a public meeting for July 12, 1862, to consider the "present condition of the Colony" and to express an "opinion in regard to a necessity of a change in its government."²⁸ The meeting was held in Cunningham and Ashwell's new building and a committee, composed of Messrs. Homer, Robson, Cormack, Armstrong and Kennedy, was appointed to draft a memorial which was presented at a meeting held on July 15. Copies of the memorial were to be sent through the ordinary channels and also directly to the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons and to a group of members of the British parliament: Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, W. S. Lindsay, T. B. Horsfall, J. Laird, J. Bramley Moore, G. Turner, J. Caird and Thomas Baines. To be sure the wishes of the memorialists were thoroughly publicized, the memorial was to be published in the London Times and the Illustrated London News. A thousand copies were to be printed for circulation among the members of the Imperial Parliament.

The memorial was sent to the Governor by Mr. John Ramage, president of the Municipal Council. It contained two requests; a governor permanently resident in the Colony, "free from any private interests in the Colony of Vancouver

28 Ibid. July 12, 1862.

Island" and the establishment of responsible government, similar to that in Eastern Canada and the Australian colonies. ²⁹

The memorial complained of the "insulting despotism" of the Governor and contended that "in accordance with the birthright of British subjects your Memorialists cannot equitably be subjected to taxation without representation" and "that as British subjects on British soil they are entitled to the privileges of freemen, that the enactment of laws by mere proclamation is not calculated to meet the requirements of the Anglo-Saxon race; neither do they believe it is a form of Government that Her Most Excellent Majesty in Council, and the Imperial Parliament, can expect that British subjects will submit to, without a feeling of degradation and of shame."³⁰

Douglas wrote the Duke of Newcastle that he had opposed the idea of responsible government at the time of the presentation of the 1861 memorials because of the scarcity of British settlers and the unsettled nature of the population. Although the number of British colonists had increased, he still did not advocate responsible government, but he favoured establishing a council of fifteen, five of the members to be nominated by the Crown and the remainder to be elected, subject to high property qualifications for members. The

29 British Colonist, July 22, 1862.

30 British Columbian, July 19, 1862.

Governor was to have the power of veto.³¹

Another public meeting was held at the Hyack Hall, New Westminster, early in October, 1862. The British Columbian reported that "the attendance was large and

respectable."³² The meeting decided to send a delegate to England to present its grievances to the British Government. The chief demand was for "those institutions which are the common birthright of every British subject." Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who had been travelling in the colony, was asked to take a petition to England and a committee of Messrs. Holbrook, Homer and Armstrong was appointed to procure funds for the undertaking.

The British Columbian termed this decision to send a personal representative to London "the most important political move ever enacted on the British Pacific".³³

Hon. Malcolm Cameron had been a member of the Canadian Legislature for twenty-six years and had held such important executive posts as President of the Executive Council, Minister of Agriculture, Commissioner of Public Works and Postmaster General.

The memorial mentioned that four petitions had already been sent--on May 26, 1860; February 20, 1861; September 11, 1861; and July 17, 1862--and the colonists

31 B. C. Despatches, loc. cit.

32 British Columbian, October 4, 1862.

33 Ibid. November 1, 1862.

felt that they had been treated "discourteously". Their demands were a reiteration of the plea for a resident governor, representative system, and a land policy which would encourage bona fide settlers. "They implore Your Majesty to grant them the 'image and transcript' of that glorious constitution, which time has only suited, tempered, and adapted to the present exigency of the highest and most enlightened minds of the world."³⁴

Governor Douglas continued to be the subject of bitter criticism but there was a growing feeling of hope that the Governor's tyrannical regime was drawing to a close, particularly as optimistic reports began to seep back from Hon. Malcolm Cameron in London. When Hon. Malcolm Cameron arrived in England, he found the Imperial Government disposed to unite the two Pacific colonies but he used his influence against such a move and as a result the Duke of Newcastle reluctantly agreed to "take steps for placing them under different governors".³⁵

On May 26, 1863, the Duke of Newcastle wrote Governor Douglas that he proposed to submit to Her Majesty an Order in Council constituting a Legislative Council for British Columbia. Speaking in the House of Commons on July 26 the Colonial Secretary remarked, "The progress of

34 Ibid. November 12, 1862.

35 P.P.C. 3667, 1866, Papers Relative to the Proposed Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 1.

British Columbia was almost without example. The colony was established only four years ago, and already, it was self-supporting, and would not, he believed, ever appear again in the annual Estimates of the House of Commons.³⁶ He added that "some blame had been thrown on the Governor, Mr. Douglas, but he (the Duke of Newcastle) did not think it was at all deserved."³⁷ The Colonial Secretary told the House that complete representative government could not be granted. He proposed to establish a Legislative Council of fifteen members. One-third of the members would be colonial officials, one-third would be magistrates and one-third would be elected. The power of nominating members was given to the Governor at first but the Duke of Newcastle reminded Douglas that he wished this power "to be so exercised as to constitute a partially representative body, capable of making the wishes of the community felt, and calculated to pave the way for a formal, if not a larger introduction to the representative element."³⁸

The Legislative Council was given the proceeds from the sale of Crown lands subject to disallowance by the British Government.

"An Act to Provide for the Government of British

³⁶ Hansard, V. 172, p. 50.

³⁷ Loc. cit.

³⁸ P.P.C. 3667, loc. cit.

Columbia", June 11, 1863, provided for the establishment of a legislative council.³⁹ In a despatch of July 14, 1863, the Duke of Newcastle appointed the following to be members of the Legislative Council: The Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Commissioner of Lands and Works, and the Collector of Customs.

A rather amusing incident occurred at this juncture. The Government had offered a prize for the best essay on British Columbia and after considerable procrastination the award had finally been given to Rev. R. C. L. Brown. However, in publishing the essay the Government had changed its wording. New Westminster took strong exception to the deletion of the following passage, "The backward state of the country, the bad condition of the roads that exist . . . are owing to the maladministration of the Government." and the substitution of, "The manner in which the Government is carried on and the laws administered gives general satisfaction . . . the colonists (with the exception of an influential clique at New Westminster) are satisfied; they have not the wish, as in the present circumstances they would not have the time, to legislate for themselves."

The three judges, who had been appointed by the Government, were W. E. Cormack, Henry Holbrook and Arch-

³⁹ Ibid. p. 3.

deacon Wright. They protested the Government's action in altering the essay and Archdeacon Wright wrote to W. A. G. Young, acting Colonial Secretary, a letter dated September 11, 1863, which said in part, "I travelled from one end of this Colony to the other, and from New Westminster to Alexandria. The common cry was for a resident Governor, separation of the two Colonies and some form of self Government, and with that cry I may say every official in this city sympathizes."

Despite all protests and recriminations the Government took no heed and the essay remained in the
40
"censored" version.

Elections for the popular members of the Council were held in the fall of 1863. In September a circular was sent out by W. A. G. Young, authorizing the election of members. British Columbia was divided into five electoral districts:

1. New Westminster
2. Hope, Yale and Lytton
3. Douglas and Lillooet
4. Cariboo East
5. Cariboo West

No boundaries were set for the districts and there were no qualifications for voters or candidates.

Chartres Brew, Police Magistrate, notified the

people of New Westminster to meet at the Court House on October 5 to elect their representative. Prior to the election day a meeting was held at Hyack Hall, on September 29, and a resolution was passed asking the Governor to fix a property qualification for voters. The qualification advocated by the Municipal Council was that voters must be British subjects who had resided in the district at least three months prior to the election. They were required to own real estate to the value of £20, to pay a yearly rental of £12, or to have been actually settled on a pre-emption for the three months. To be eligible for election, a man must⁴¹ own land to the value of £500. Those present at the meeting expressed "their strongest disapprobation of the illiberal constitution granted to this Colony by the Colonial Minister, His Grace the Duke of Newcastle . . . they regret to have to record their protest (in this the Nineteenth Century) against a constitution fitted only for the Legislation of serfs, and which is insulting to the intelligence of the people of this Colony."⁴² A delegation was appointed which met Governor Douglas and asked him to enforce these regulations re the qualification of voters but he informed the delegation that he had no authority to limit the franchise.

The meeting was re-convened on September 30 and

41 Ibid. September 30, 1863.

42 Ibid. October 3, 1863.

Mr. Holbrook, chairman of the deputation, told the meeting that Governor Douglas had said that he could not limit the basis of franchise "but that if they could not unanimously agree upon a candidate they might return two or three, from amongst whom he (the Governor) would select!!!"⁴³

Naturally this announcement was greeted with an uproar and the meeting decided to set its own qualifications. It was finally agreed that voters must have lived in the city or district six months and either own land to the value of £20 or pay £12 yearly rent.

J. A. R. Homer had been prominently mentioned for the nomination. His candidacy was urged by R. Dickinson, W. J. Armstrong, William Clarkson, James Cunningham and Charles Major.

When the electors arrived at the Court House on October 5, this building was found to be too small to accommodate the large number of voters and the meeting was moved to Mr. Webster's store. Mr. Brew announced that he would allow the qualifications for voting to be decided by the meeting. Captain Cooper was elected Returning Officer and the qualifications, approved at the meeting of September 30, were adopted. J. A. R. Homer and Henry Holbrook were both nominated and a poll was demanded. It was decided

⁴³ Loc. cit.

to hold the poll until five o'clock that day and reopen it from ten to one o'clock the following day. The result of the election was Homer, 69 votes, and Holbrook, 58.⁴⁴

The British Columbian of October 10, 1863, published a complete list of those who voted for each candidate and it is interesting to note some of the names on each list. Among Homer's supporters were Charles Major, John Robson, W. J. Armstrong, John Cooper, David Ramage, W. D. Ferris, H. McRoberts, James Burr, James McIlveen, Thomas McNeeley, Tom Cunningham, James Cunningham, J. S. Clute, Robert Dickinson, William Holmes, F. G. Claudet, Robert Wyllie, A. H. Manson and John Murray. These were the more prominent citizens of New Westminster and this list contains the names of almost all the members of the Municipal Council except Holbrook himself. Voting for Holbrook were C. E. Pooley, C. R. Drew, James Kennedy, Sam Brighthouse, Thomas Waterhouse, Joseph Sorel, William Hailstone and Ebenezer Brown.

Henry Holbrook was later elected for Douglas-Lillooet and other members elected were Robert T. Smith and James Orr. The representative for Cariboo West was not chosen at that time.

The first session of the Legislative Council was

44 Ibid. October 7, 1863.

held at New Westminster on January 21, 1864. The meetings were conducted in a former barrack building at the Royal Engineers Camp at Sapperton. The members of the Council were:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| | 1. Colonial Secretary - A. N. Birch |
| Colonial | 2. Attorney-General - H. P. P. Crease |
| Officials | 3. Collector of Customs - W. O. Hamley |
| | 4. Treasurer - C. W. Franks |
| | 5. Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works - J. W. Trutch |
| | 1. Chartres Brew - Chief Inspector of Police |
| | 2. Peter O'Reilly - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| Magis- | 3. Edward H. Sanders - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| trates | 4. Henry M. Ball - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| | 5. Philip H. Nind - Gold Commissioner and Magistrate |
| | 1. Joshua Attwood Reynolds Homer - New Westminster |
| Elected | 2. Robert T. Smith - Hope, Yale, Lytton |
| Members | 3. Henry Holbrook - Douglas, Lillooet |
| | 4. James Orr - Cariboo East |
| | 5. A. W. S. Black - Cariboo West |

The proceedings opened with a speech from the Governor and the members were then sworn in by Judge Begbie. Both the press and the public were excluded from the deliberations of the Council. In his opening address Governor Douglas informed the Council that the colonial debt for 1863 was £27,755. Of this £10,700 was the balance owed to the Imperial Government for the buildings at the Royal Engineers Camp, while the remaining £17,055 was general debt,

45

The people of the Colony of British Columbia were

45 Ibid. January 23, 1864.

not satisfied with the Legislative Council, as they felt that popular representation was not sufficient. They again brought the charge of "taxation without representation". When Governor Seymour left on a visit to England in the fall of 1865, the people of New Westminster presented him with an address asking him to use his "powerful influence" to persuade the British Government to remedy this defect.⁴⁶

Early in March, 1864, a great public meeting was held at Hyack Hall to hear the report of Leonard McClure, who, as Vancouver Island delegate, had accompanied the British Columbia delegate, Hon. Malcolm Cameron, to London late in 1862. At the meeting, Messrs. Homer, Armstrong, Clarkson, Kennedy, Manson, Cormack, Dickinson, Hooper and Robson were appointed a committee "for the purpose of taking the necessary steps to obtain a more liberal system of Government, in place of the present, which expires with the current year."⁴⁷

On March 14, 1864, Governor Douglas (by then Sir James Douglas) arrived from Victoria on the Enterprise and took up residence in the house built for Colonel Moody. The rest of the absentee officials came to New Westminster at the same time.⁴⁸ Governor Douglas remained on the mainland only

46 Ibid. September 2, 1865.

47 Ibid. March 16, 1864.

48 Loc. cit.

one month after which he retired to Victoria. On April 8 a banquet was tendered him by "the colonial officials, his over-zealous and injudicious friends".⁴⁹ The Colonist reported the banquet as a public function given by the citizens of New Westminster. The Columbian said this report was "unfair and untrue". It was a private dinner and only one prominent citizen of New Westminster was present.

There can be no doubt that the people of New Westminster were overjoyed to see the last of the hated Governor. His unpopularity at the capital was without equal and the people had prayed "as fervently to be freed from his insulting despotism as ever did Israelite for deliverance from Egyptian bondage".⁵⁰

Douglas' successor was Frederick Seymour who had formerly been governor of British Honduras. Governor Seymour reached New Westminster on April 20. He was asked by the citizens of New Westminster to remain a few days in Victoria after his arrival there as they wished to arrange a ceremony of welcome and to deck the streets with arches and other decorations. He was advised that the ceremony would lose dignity if he landed from a common trading vessel among the miners, so he requisitioned a gun-boat from Captain Lord Gilford, the Senior Naval Officer, and made the crossing with

49 Ibid. April 16, 1864.

50 Ibid. June 20, 1863.

51

three servants on H.M.S. Forward.

Extensive preparations were made at New Westminster for Governor Seymour's arrival. Buildings were decorated with bunting and evergreens and two fir arches were erected on Columbia Street. When the gun-boat came in view a large crowd hurried down to the wharf. When he stepped ashore, His Excellency was greeted by the Municipal Council who presented an address of welcome from the citizens of New Westminster. The following day the Hyacks and the members of the militia companies proceeded to Sapperton and escorted Governor Seymour to town. An official gathering was held in front of the Treasury, with Judge Begbie reading the Governor's commission and administering the oath of office.⁵² Later, Governor Seymour received additional addresses from the Legislative Council, the Ministers and Missionaries of the Wesleyan Mission Church, the Ministers and office bearers of St. Andrews' Church and the members of the St. Andrew's Society.

Shortly after Governor Seymour's arrival additions⁵³ were made to Government House at a cost of £865. A. H. Manson was awarded the contract and John C. White was engaged as architect and building superintendent.

51 B. C. Despatches, p. 80, Seymour to Newcastle, April 20, 1864.

52 British Colonist, April 25, 1864.

53 Lands and Works Letter Book, p. 226.

The North Pacific Times of November 12, 1864, described the new additions: "An extensive suite of apartments has recently been added to the Government House, including a spacious and handsome ball-room, capable of accommodating with ease 200 dancers. Adjoining this are the supper rooms, elegantly and substantially furnished apartments." Extensive improvements were made to the grounds by the chain gang.⁵⁴

When Frederick Seymour assumed the office of Governor, the finances of British Columbia were in a bad state. The new governor later reported to the Colonial Secretary that this was due to Douglas' enormous expenditures on roads and to his creation of "a staff of public officials sufficient for a population ten times as large as they have."⁵⁵

He wrote to Rt. Hon. Edward Cardwell:

I had not seen even in the West Indie's so melancholy a picture of disappointed hopes as New Westminster presented on my arrival Thousands of trees had been felled to make way for the great city expected to rise on the magnificent site selected for it. But the blight had early come. Many of the best houses were untenanted. The largest hotel was to let, decay appeared on all sides, and the stumps and logs of the fallen trees blocked up most of the streets. Westminster appeared, to use the miners' expression, played out.⁵⁶

54 British Columbian, October 12, 1864.

55 B. C. Despatches, p. 37, Seymour to Buckingham, June 8, 1868.

56 P.P.C. 3667, p. 21, Seymour to Cardwell, March 21, 1865.

Shortly after British Columbia's formation, the House of Commons voted the colony £42,998, of which £37,000⁵⁷ was the cost of sending out the Royal Engineers. The expenditures to February 23, 1859, had amounted to £25,059. 6. 4. and the revenue to £22,924. 1. 5., or an unfavourable balance of £2,315. 4. 11.⁵⁸

This early deficit was due to the expenses of the Royal Engineers, poor land sales, the enormous cost of roads and evasion of the export duty on gold by miners who smuggled gold across the border.

In 1860 the British Government made a further grant⁵⁹ of £15,000 and the following year granted £8,600.⁶⁰ There was considerable objection in the House of Commons to these two grants, but Mr. Chichester Fortescue argued that the greater part of the grant was "for additional pay to the Royal Engineers owing to the high cost of provisions."⁶¹ In 1862, Mr. Fortescue again succeeded in obtaining a grant⁶² for the colony, this time for £9,000.

At the first meeting of the Legislative Council in January, 1864, it was reported that the expenditures for 1863 were £192,869 and the revenues £110,000, making a

57 Hansard, v. 155, pp. 522-524.

58 B. C. Papers, Part 3, p. 3, Douglas to Lytton, April 8, 1859.

59 Hansard, v. 160, p. 1363.

60 Ibid. v. 164, p. 1028.

61 Loc. cit.

62 Ibid. v. 167, p. 496.

deficit of £82,869. The deficit was smaller in 1864, but rose again in 1865, the year of the depression.⁶³ By the end of 1865 it was apparent that the financial status of the colony had reached a very low ebb. Many merchants were bankrupt. When the Bank of British Columbia had first opened it was exceedingly generous with its credits and loans. Many merchants were themselves able to give liberal credit and laid in large stocks of goods, purchased on credit, in the belief that the population of the colony would increase. Unfortunately the population decreased and when the bank suddenly called in all its advances, many of its creditors were forced into bankruptcy. There was no sound basis of prosperity for the colony; the peak of gold rush had declined and there were, as yet, no extensive attempts at agriculture.

By the middle of 1868, Governor Seymour reported that his salary was eleven months in arrears, that the colony's bank account was overdrawn, and that the Bank of British Columbia was charging eighteen per cent. interest on the overdrawn account.⁶⁴

The financial depression of British Columbia and Vancouver Island made their union inevitable. By 1866, the net indebtedness of British Columbia was over \$1,000,000 and

63 Harvey, Arthur, A Statistical Account of British Columbia, p. 10.

64 B. C. Despatches, p. 37, Seymour to Buckingham, June 8, 1868.

that of the island colony was nearly \$300,000, while the cost of the two separate governments amounted to nearly \$1,000,000 annually. Vancouver Island owed the Bank of British North America \$79,567 and the bank stopped all further credit to the colony on May 31, 1866. In July the colony had to borrow \$90,000 at twelve per cent. interest to repay the bank and have sufficient funds to carry on ordinary
65
business.

From the beginning the idea of union was extremely
66
unpopular in British Columbia, " . . . you may bluster, bully, resolve, petition, meet, disperse, and meet again, wail, deplore, even menace, but we will have none of you."
67
As early as March 7, 1861, the British Columbian had warned, "If British Columbians do not bestir themselves Hudson's Bay influence in Victoria and Downing Street will have us fastened to Vancouver Island one of these days, and that upon the most ruinous and degrading terms." The memorial sent to the Imperial Government on July 17, 1862, contained a strong plea against incorporation of Vancouver Island with British Columbia.

The people of New Westminster were bitterly opposed to any thought of union. New Westminster and Victoria had

65 P. P. C. 3667, p. 31, Kennedy to Cardwell, July, 1866.

66 P. P. C. 367, p. 30, Seymour to Cardwell, March 29, 1865.

67 North Pacific Times, March 8, 1865.

been bitter rivals almost from the date of the inception of the mainland capital and an almost constant blast of insults were hurled across the Gulf. When the editor of the Victoria Chronicle referred to the Fraser as a "stream of liquid mud", John Robson replied in the British Columbian of April 15, 1863, "We might remind him of a certain 'frog pond' dignified by the name of 'Victoria Harbor', which is not fortunate enough to possess 'liquid mud' to a sufficient depth to admit ordinary sized vessels."

Much of New Westminster's hostility was the result of the conviction that it was being sacrificed to the interests of Victoria. From the beginning, Governor Douglas used all his influence to foster the island city partly because of his personal interest in Victoria and because of his potent connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hudson's Bay "clique" was strongly entrenched at Victoria while its influence at New Westminster was comparatively limited. The young city struggling to develop on the banks of the Fraser naturally looked with hatred at its favoured rival across the Gulf. The Government's political, financial and commercial policy all worked in favour of the island while New Westminster was discriminated against and hampered at every turn.

In March of 1865, the Municipal Council sent a petition to the Legislative Council, urging against union,

chiefly on the grounds that the mainland colony was just beginning to prosper. Frequent editorials in the British Columbian expressed violent opposition to union. One of September 30, 1865, read that certain designing politicians were trying "to betray this colony into the hands of its worst enemies, the Hudson's Bay Company, Wharf Street chapmen, Victoria land sharks, and their Adjutants - General, De Cosmos, McClure, and Company."

In April, 1866, the Municipal Council sent a memorial to the Colonial Secretary stating that the people of British Columbia were opposed to union but adding that, if union were forced on the colony, then New Westminster should be chosen as the permanent capital.

The site of this city was, your memorialists believe, wisely selected by a commissioner sent out by Her Majesty's Government and specially charged with that duty; received its name direct from Her Majesty and was officially proclaimed as the permanent capital by a statute law of the Colony. . . . The capital could not now be disturbed without breaking faith with the people, and inflicting gross injustice upon large-vested rights;

68

At the time of the receipt of this memorial, Governor Seymour was absent on a visit to Europe. Hon. A. N. Birch, acting Governor, reported to the Colonial Secretary that the majority of the inhabitants of British Columbia, apart from those living in New Westminster, had

68 P.P.C. 3694, 1866, A Further Despatch Relative to the Proposed Union of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 2, April 26, 1866.

little or no interest in the question of union and he
expressed himself in favor of joining the two colonies.⁶⁹

The people of Vancouver Island were, on the other hand, most anxious for the union of the colonies and the desire for union became even stronger after the establishment of a Legislative Council in British Columbia, when it soon became apparent that the Council was extremely hostile to Vancouver Island. The Customs Amendment of 1865 tended to aggravate further the already depressed economic condition of the island colony.⁷⁰ Before the passing of this ordinance almost all goods brought into British Columbia were transhipped from Victoria as that city was a free port and goods were admitted duty free. The amended ordinance imposed a higher duty on goods shipped to British Columbia from Victoria than on goods imported direct from any other port. On June 22, 1866, the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island presented a memorial to the Secretary for the colonies asking for an immediate legislative union with the power of taxation and expenditure vested in a strong Legislative Assembly.⁷¹

As early as April, 1864, Hon. Edward Cardwell asked both Governor Kennedy and Governor Seymour for their

69 Ibid. Birch to Cardwell, April 28, 1866.

70 P.P.C. 3852, p. 2, Kennedy to Cardwell, June 15, 1866.

71 Ibid. p. 11, June 22, 1866.

views on the subject of union.⁷² Governor Kennedy reported to the Colonial Secretary on March 21, 1865, that the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island favoured unconditional union by a majority of eleven to four.

At first Governor Seymour was strenuously opposed to union. He attributed the colony's depression to the fact that it had been sacrificed for the gain of Victoria and in 1866 he began to see signs that British Columbia was entering a new era of prosperity. In a despatch from Paris on February 17, 1866, he expressed strong opposition to union on the grounds that British Columbia did not want union and that the colony was not depressed.⁷³

Despite opposition from the mainland colony, union was inevitable. Lack of population and the large indebtedness of the colonies meant that union was necessary if both colonies were to become solvent and prosperous. Accordingly, an Imperial Act uniting the two colonies was passed in August, 1866, and Frederick Seymour was appointed Governor of the united colony, British Columbia. Upon his return from Europe the Governor landed at Victoria on November 7, 1866, where he "was received with great coldness" and where he

72 P.P.C. 3667, p. 7, Cardwell to Kennedy, April 30, 1864.

73 P.P.C. 3667, p. 37, Seymour to Cardwell, February 17, 1866.

noticed "a look of extreme depression upon the town and its
⁷⁴
 inhabitants."

Three days later he reached New Westminster where
⁷⁵
 he was "met with a most loyal and gratifying reception."
 Governor and Mrs. Seymour arrived on the Sir James Douglas
 and when the steamer came in sight they were greeted by
 "a right merry peal from the chime of bells and a salute
 from the guns of the Seymour Artillery." The members of the
 Hyack and militia companies, headed by the Hyack band,
 marched out to Government House, each man bearing a lighted
 torch and as the vice-regal party landed the band played
 "that exquisite and appropriate air, 'Home Again'". The
British Columbian published a vivid account of the ensuing
 celebration:

The long avenue of humanity, the three Volunteer
 Companies in their varied uniforms, the Hyack
 Company in their bright costume, and the long
 line of civilians, with several hundred persons
 forming the background, and just enough of torch-
 light to render the scene picturesque, and cast a
 charm over the whole, the view from the river must
 have been "charmant". As soon as the party stepped
 onto the wharf, where several heads of departments
 stood ready to receive them, a cheer ran up the
 lines and faintly died away in the distance with
 the roll of the drums.

76

On November 19 Governor Seymour proclaimed the

74 P.P.C. 3852, Further Papers Relative to the Union of
 British Columbia and Vancouver Island, p. 27, Seymour
 to Carnarvon, November 20, 1866.

75 Ibid. p. 28.

76 British Columbian, November 14, 1866.

Imperial Act at Victoria and New Westminster and reported "no enthusiasm or excitement shown in either town." The proclamation was read at Victoria by Sheriff Adamson. At New Westminster it was proclaimed at the Treasury Building by J. A. R. Homer, the High Sheriff, in the presence of Chartres Brew, J.P., Charles W. Franks, Treasurer, Henry P. Pellew Crease, Attorney-General, and Arthur T. Bushby, Registrar General.⁷⁷ Following the reading, the flag on the Hyack engine house was run up as a signal to H.M.S. Sparrowhawk to fire a salute, "but that was the act of the Government, not of the people."⁷⁸

Following union of the colonies, the Legislative Council consisted of twenty-three members, fourteen of whom were appointed, including nine magistrates and five Government members. Five of the elected members were from the mainland and the remaining four from Vancouver Island. The first session of the new Legislative Council was opened with all due ceremony on January 24, 1867, at Sapperton. Governor Seymour was met by a guard of honour from the three New Westminster volunteer companies and his exit was the signal for a salute of eighteen guns by H.M.S. Malacca, which had anchored in the river opposite Government House. The speech from the throne made no mention of the site of the capital

77 P.P.C. 3852, p. 30, Seymour to Carnarvon, November 21, 1866.

78 British Columbian, November 21, 1866.

but this was the foremost and most controversial issue.

Governor Seymour was outspoken in his opinion that New Westminster should be the capital of the united colonies. While in Paris he wrote Hon. Edward Cardwell expressing the view that as Vancouver Island was seeking union with British Columbia, it must relinquish all claim to the capital.

I think, however, that in seeking union with British Columbia, Vancouver Island relinquishes all claim to the possession within her limits of the seat of Government. New Westminster has been chosen as the capital of British Columbia, and it would not be fair to the reluctant colony to deprive her of the Governor and staff of officers. Both these towns are inconveniently situated on an angle of the vast British territory, but New Westminster, on the mainland, has the advantage over the island town. It is already the centre of the telegraphic system, and is in constant communication with the upper country, whereas the steamers to Victoria only run twice a week. The seat of Government should be on the mainland; whether it might not, with advantage, be brought here after nearer to the gold mines, is a question for the future.

79

Seymour pressed the claim of New Westminster before the Colonial Office. He reminded the Colonial Secretary that "during the passage of the Act, it was stated in both Houses of Parliament that New Westminster should be the seat of general government." He added that (New Westminster is) "In my opinion the most respectable, manly and enterprising

79 B. C. Despatches, p. 590, Seymour to Buckingham, July 13, 1867.

little community with which I have ever been acquainted."

The Colonial Secretary replied that the British Government did not intend the people of New Westminster to understand that the capital would never be moved but left the final choice in the hands of the Governor.

. . . I think it is requisite to say that the establishment of New Westminster as the capital of British Columbia did not, in my opinion, involve any pledge on the part of the Government that the site of that capital shall never be moved. It is, of course, always undesirable to disappoint natural expectations, and much consideration may be due to those who are so disappointed. But every land purchaser in New Westminster or any other locality, must be considered to buy his land, subject to the possible changes which the varying political or commercial interests of the whole community may from time to time render necessary.

I will add that, although I do not prescribe to you the choice of one or other capital, you will be at liberty, in case you should decide in favour of Victoria, to quote the authority of the Home Government in support of that course. 81

New Westminster's rights were strongly advocated by the British Columbian and its fiery editor, John Robson. From the time it was first suggested that the capital might be moved to Victoria the Columbian kept up a constant blast

80 P.P.H.C. 483 of 1868, Extracts of Correspondence between Governor Kennedy of Vancouver Island, Governor Seymour of British Columbia, and the Colonial Office on the subject of a Site for the Capital of British Columbia, p. 4, Seymour to Buckingham, July 13, 1867.

81 Ibid. Buckingham to Seymour, October 1, 1867.

at Victoria and its "glaring impertinence" in presuming to be the capital. ". . . it is not likely that the British Government, a Government whose 'faith' has never yet been broken and whose 'honor' has never yet been tarnished, would be guilty of offering at once its 'faith and honor' and the entire fortunes of its loyal subjects at New Westminster, a sacrifice to a band of unprincipled, disloyal and insatiable speculators at Victoria. No, no. The very thought savors
82
of treason."

The Royal City's claim was based chiefly on the fact that in seeking union Vancouver Island had relinquished all claim to the capital. Many people who had bought land in New Westminster had made this investment on the assumption that New Westminster would always be the capital and it would be a breach of "public faith and honour" to move the seat of government.

John Robson did not have much faith in the judgment of the Legislative Council although he himself was a member of it. This criticism was based on Robson's opinion that the Council was not representative of the people because people of every race, creed or colour could vote if they had been resident in British Columbia for three months. "Thus we have seen the foreigner, who was but waiting the arrival

of the next steamer to carry him from the Colony forever, step up to the poll and record his vote, or a drove of Kanakas, who required a half hour's tuition and a second trial in order indistinctly to articulate the name of the candidate in whose interest they had been dragged up, standing upon equal footing with the resident British⁸³ subject."

Meanwhile the claims of Victoria were vigorously supported by the Hudson's Bay Company, the Bank of British Columbia, the Bank of North America, and by various influential citizens of Vancouver Island. The Colonist dismissed New Westminster as "a pimple on the face of creation",⁸⁴ while on the other hand, the Nanaimo Tribune remarked of Victoria, "a cruel stepmother she has been to us, a cold, selfish, close-fisted old dame!"⁸⁵ Dr. Helmcken was quoted as saying, "The day that makes New Westminster the capital will make more American citizens than British."⁸⁶

Sir James Douglas used his influence on behalf of⁸⁷ Victoria and prompted by a letter from the former Governor, Dr. Helmcken on March 28, 1867, introduced a resolution into the Legislative Council for the removal of the capital to

83 British Columbian, January 19, 1867.

84 British Colonist, September 24, 1866.

85 British Columbian, October 6, 1866.

86 Ibid. January 16, 1867.

87 Sage, W. N., Sir James Douglas and British Columbia, p. 342;
B. C. Despatches, p. 559, Seymour to Carnarvon,
March 18, 1867.

Victoria. Governor Seymour had the same day sent a lengthy message to the Council, in which he urged that no immediate action should be taken but reminded the members that it had been stated in both Houses of Parliament that New Westminster should be the capital of the united colony.⁸⁸ A ten hour debate was held on March 29 on the subject of the location of the capital and the Helmcken resolution was carried by a vote of thirteen to eight, with the island and official members supporting it.

Although the Council obviously favoured the change⁸⁹ Governor Seymour hesitated to make the move. The Daily News of Victoria termed him a "heartless dictator" and "worse than a costermonger."⁹⁰ Seymour sent the Colonial Office a comprehensive expression of his views informing the Imperial authorities that no Governor would of his own free will leave Government House at New Westminster for that at Victoria and adding that the Legislative Council could better carry on its work in the "less troubled town of New Westminster" than in the "feverish political atmosphere of Victoria."⁹¹

A tremendous uproar was caused by the publication in the Colonist of February 13, 1868, of a letter reputedly

88 British Columbian, March 30, 1867.

89 P.P.H.C. 483, p. 4, Seymour to Buckingham, April 10, 1867.

90 British Columbian, April 20, 1867.

91 P.P.H.C. 483, p. 9, Seymour to Buckingham, December 10, 1867.

written by Captain Richards, R.N., to Mr. Donald Fraser of Victoria. The letter said in part,

. . . I never could understand building the wooden hovels dignified by the name of capital; fifteen miles within the entrance of an intricate river where only the smallest war ships can enter.

. . . by taking away the prestige from Victoria you will benefit no one but the few possessors of land in the immediate neighbourhood of the hovels, and will keep the country back for a generation.

92

On February 17 a public meeting was held at the call of Henry Holbrook, President of the Municipal Council, to investigate these statements of Captain Richards. Hon. John Robson spoke at some length and introduced a resolution, which carried unanimously, expressing "surprise and regret" that Captain Richards should have "offered gratuitous insult to a large and respectable British Community."⁹³ J. T. Scott moved a second resolution that a committee should be appointed to prepare a memorial to be sent to the Duke of Buckingham pointing out the discrepancy between Captain Richards' description of New Westminster and the Fraser River in Vancouver Island Pilot and his remarks in the letter to Mr. Fraser and bringing to "the notice of His Grace the unscrupulous means resorted to in order if possible to prejudice the question of the Seat of Government, to the

92 British Columbian, February 15, 1868.

93 Ibid. February 19, 1868.

great injury of the general interests of this colony." The committee appointed for this purpose was H. Holbrook, John Robson, W. J. Armstrong, J. T. Scott, T. Cunningham, J. S. Clute, H. W. Smith, D. Withrow, T. E. Ladner, H. Havelock, W. Clarkson, and W. Fisher.

When the Legislative Council reassembled in the spring of 1868, the question of the site of the capital was once again the foremost issue. Governor Seymour in the speech from the throne remarked, "A Governor must allow himself no personal feelings in a matter of this importance."⁹⁴ He added that, ". . . Her Majesty's Government are of the opinion that in my Message of the 27th of March, 1867, I took an extreme view as to the extent to which public faith and honour are pledged to the purchasers of land in New Westminster."

On April 15, the New Westminster Municipal Council sent a memorial to Governor Seymour expressing their reasons for urging that the capital should remain at New Westminster. The Council had raised \$44,500 in taxes and borrowed \$13,386 by means of debentures which were issued in 1862 and would soon fall due. If the site of the capital were moved to Victoria, the value of land at New Westminster would fall sharply and the Council would be hard-pressed to meet its

⁹⁴ Ibid. March 21, 1868.

96

obligations.

On April 20, Hon. John Robson, New Westminster's representative in the Legislative Council, was assaulted and beaten by Hon. R. T. Smith. The cause of the assault was that Robson had tried to prevent Smith from voting on April 2 on the question of the site of the capital. Smith, needless to say, favoured Victoria and Robson tried to have him barred on the ground that he was bankrupt and therefore must forfeit his seat in the Council. Robson was strolling back to town from the Legislative Hall at Sapperton, reading a copy of the Estimates as he walked along. As he was nearing Mr. Bushby's residence he met Smith, who knocked him to the ground and jumped on him. Smith then commenced to beat Robson with Robson's own walking stick, but stopped the attack when Hon. Mr. Wood and Hon. Dr. Helmcken appeared on the scene. Smith was arrested and on appearing in
96
magistrate's court, was fined £5.

However, the Legislative Council had on April 2 voted in favour of moving the capital to Victoria, with
97
Messrs. Crease, Hamley, Robson, Barnard and Ball dissenting. In a message read to the Legislative Council on April 28,

95 Ibid. April 15, 1868.

96 Ibid. April 25, 1868;

B. C. Historical Quarterly, July, 1940, John Robson versus J. K. Suter, pp. 204-205.

97 P.P.H.C. 483, p. 12, Seymour to Buckingham, May 25, 1868.

Governor Seymour announced that he would cause Victoria to be proclaimed the capital on May 24.

It is interesting to speculate on the reason for Governor Seymour's change of attitude. There is some justification for his decision. Victoria contained a larger settled population and was the headquarters of the banks, churches, and the Hudson's Bay Company. It is significant of Seymour's affection for New Westminster that he wrote the Colonial Secretary, "In my own heart, I must allow there was a feeling in favour of the manly, respectable, loyal and enterprising community established on the Banks of the

⁹⁸ Fraser." In a letter written to the Municipal Council in May, 1868, the Governor said in part, "I willingly bear testimony to the loyalty, good feeling, self-reliance and respectability of the people of New Westminster, and deeply regret that I should come to be the instrument of inflicting ⁹⁹ a temporary injury upon them."

Governor Seymour's good wishes did not go far towards placating the people of New Westminster. A public meeting was held on April 29 to secure redress. Three resolutions were passed by this meeting. The first, moved by Ebenezer Brown, was to the effect that the removal of the capital was a "direct violation of public faith and honor."

98 Ibid., p. 22, Seymour to Buckingham, April 29, 1868.

99 British Columbian, May 13, 1868.

Mr. J. Calder moved that "the property-holders in this city have a just right to compensation." A third resolution, moved by Mr. Ferris, proposed the establishment of a committee "to draw up a Memorial to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, humbly praying for redress and justice."¹⁰⁰

Governor Seymour did not escape New Westminster's wrath. The British Columbian published an editorial castigating him unmercifully: ". . . the Governor, if not actually convicted of double dealing and treachery of the most extraordinary and aggravated character, is at least the subject of suspicion of the most painful nature."¹⁰¹ On June 6, the Columbian again referred to the Governor's part in the event, "His Excellency has, whether unwillingly or not is, perhaps, known only to himself and his superior officer, been the instrument in perpetrating an act which, for cruelty and injustice, will not easily find a parallel, even in Colonial history."

Governor and Mrs. Seymour left New Westminster on board the H.M.S. Sparrowhawk on May 18. The gubernatorial party had to disembark at Cadboro Bay and travel overland to "Bleak House" (Cary Castle) as the Sparrowhawk drew too much water to be able to enter Victoria harbour.¹⁰²

100 Ibid. May 2, 1868.
 101 Ibid. May 13, 1868.
 102 Ibid. May 20, 1868.

The Government officials scurried across the Gulf with the "most indecent haste". Most of them went to Victoria within a week ". . . and in less than a month scarcely a vestige of officialdom remained to mark the site of the 'phantom capital'". Not even a branch of the Lands and Works Department was left to serve the whole mainland of British Columbia. Of this mass exodus, the Columbian remarked, "If the officials can all be huddled together on a small, remote island, without detriment to the public interest it is pretty clear that they might be spared
103
altogether."

New Westminster continued to press its claims for redress. Before Governor Seymour's departure for Victoria, the Municipal Council had presented a petition to him asking
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compensation for the removal of the capital. July 27, a meeting was called by Henry Holbrook, President of the Municipal Council, to consider the question of taking steps to secure redress from the Imperial Government for "the rude shock caused by the unexpected perpetration of such a
105
disgraceful swindle by the Colonial Office authorities."

The chief basis of New Westminster's claim for compensation was the fact that when New Westminster was

103 Ibid. July 1, 1868.

104 Ibid. May 13, 1868.

105 Ibid. August 8, 1868.

proclaimed to be the capital of British Columbia, people who had bought lots at Langley, in the expectation that Langley would be the capital, were allowed to exchange their Langley lots for property at the capital. Langley had never been proclaimed capital of the colony, while New Westminster had been specifically chosen and officially sanctioned for that purpose. People who had invested money in land at New Westminster were surely entitled to compensation for the depreciation of the value of their property as a result of the Government's "treachery".

The people of New Westminster were further incensed by the "temerity" of certain Government officials who asked compensation for the losses which they sustained in having to move from New Westminster to Victoria. Robert Ker, the Auditor-General; Charles Good, Assistant Colonial Secretary; Alex Calder, Treasury Clerk; John Graham, Officer in charge at the Treasury; John Westgarth, Inspector of Steamers; all asked for consideration on the grounds that they had spent a considerable amount of time and money in maintaining homes and property at New Westminster, and that their holdings were now of greatly reduced value. Messrs. Hamley, Crease and Bushby also sent a petition to the Government asking compensation for deterioration in the value of their property.

106

106 B. C. Despatches, p. 61, Seymour to Buckingham,
August 11, 1868.

No satisfaction was obtained from either the Colonial or the Imperial Government and in the fall of 1868, the Municipal Council sent two further petitions, one to Queen Victoria and the other to the House of Commons. In forwarding these memorials to the Duke of Buckingham, Governor Seymour added, "Your Grace is well aware that the people of the former (New Westminster) have, at least their fair share of my solicitude."¹⁰⁷

Government House at Sapperton was abandoned. The other Government buildings at Sapperton were also deserted and Governor Seymour had to employ a former sapper as caretaker in order to prevent the Indians from occupying them. The Imperial Government was still pressing its claim that British Columbia should pay for the buildings provided for the Royal Engineers. On February 2, 1868, Governor Seymour wrote the Colonial Secretary expressing his views on this subject:

Colonel Moody selected a heavily timbered piece of land a mile from the town for his camp. He employed civil labour to clear it--the expenditure has been utterly thrown away, as far as the colony is concerned, New Westminster would have been in a much more prosperous condition were not the small resources of the citizens spread over two separate town sites a mile apart.

108

107 Ibid., p. 82, Seymour to Buckingham, November 30, 1868.

108 Ibid., p. 5, Seymour to Buckingham, February 2, 1868.

Governor Seymour added that the only building of any use was Colonel Moody's residence, Government House, and even this was too far from town for convenience.

William Fisher, who returned home to England on a trip, interviewed Earl Granville at the Colonial Office on July 23 on the subject of compensation for New Westminster lot owners. In the House of Commons, Mr. Rathbone asked the Colonial Secretary whether the Imperial Government was willing to accede to the requests contained in the memorial from the Municipal Council asking for an enquiry into the change of the site of the capital or for compensation for its removal. The reply was that it was a matter for the local
109 legislature to decide. No record was found of any compensation being paid and judging from the composition of the Legislative Council it is safe to assume that none was ever made. It was later announced that the proposal to reimburse the Government officials did not meet with the
110 approval of the British Government.

During Antony Musgrave's term as Governor, he asked the Imperial Government for £400 to buy furniture for Government House at New Westminster as he felt that it was desirable that the Governor should be in residence on the
111 mainland part of the time. Apparently this request was

109 Mainland Guardian, August 28, 1869; November 13, 1869.

110 Ibid., February 23, 1870.

111 B. C. Despatches, p. 208, Musgrave to Granville, March 8, 1870.

favourably received for in the spring of 1870, Government House was repaired and repainted and a large quantity of furniture was installed.

Hon. J. A. R. Homer represented New Westminster on the Legislative Council from 1864 to 1866 when his place was taken by John Robson, editor of the Columbian. Robson defeated Dr. W. A. G. Black in a bitterly contested election held in October, 1866, described as the "warmest political contest which has even taken place in these Colonies."

The New Westminster riding included not only the city but also the surrounding districts and additional polling stations were set up at Douglas, Sumass, Langley and Burrard Inlet. Any white man resident in the district for at least three months was entitled to vote, Chinese and Indians being barred.

Both candidates presented similar platforms, both favouring Union, retrenchment in the civil service, abolition of tonnage dues, construction of roads in all settled districts, granting of free land to bona fide settlers, settlement of the Indian land question and suppression of the sale of liquor to Indians. It was suggested that Mr. Robson had an unfair advantage because he was editor of the paper, but there seems to have been little justification for this

112 Mainland Guardian, June 18, 1870; July 2, 1870.

complaint. Dr. Black was supported by the Government officials and it was charged that the officials allowed a group of Kanakas to vote. A letter to the editor of the Columbian voiced this complaint:

The work of Friday, the 12th October, 1866, . . . will form a Black page in the history of British Institutions on the Pacific . . . under the present glorious system of British Government which the people of this Colony enjoy, officials are allowed to interfere. And they have not failed to make the most of the privilege. Their votes, their influence and their money have all been given in support of your opponent

The writer accused the officials of "coralling and driving up like a flock of cattle sixteen Kanakas to record their votes for Doctor Black." and added another charge.

But what shocked me most, what I cannot excuse or palliate, was the bringing of the patients from the public hospital to record their votes for Doctor Black . . . I will not repeat the rumors afloat about the recent irregular admission of patients into that institution for political purposes, nor will I vouch for the correctness of the assertion that the Steward was ordered to bring the patients to the polls.

113

The final returns of city votes gave Robson 210 votes to 194 for Dr. Black. The Returning Officer said he had no authority to disallow the Kanaka vote. The country vote gave Robson a majority of 122 to 35. This decisive rural vote in Robson's favour was partly due to the fact that there were no officials living in the country districts.

John Robson continued to represent New Westminster until November, 1870, even though he moved to Victoria in July, 1869. At the end of his first term in the Council he was given a purse of \$600 in gold coin and a "very flattering address" by his constituents.¹¹⁴ When he left New Westminster he was presented with a memorial signed by every man in the city but two.¹¹⁵

Union of the two colonies did not solve the economic problems of British Columbia and Confederation was soon considered as a step towards prosperity. The first official action towards union with the embryonic Dominion of Canada came in 1867. On March 9 and March 20 Amor De Cosmos introduced a motion into the Legislative Council to ask Governor Seymour to take steps to secure the "immediate" admission of British Columbia into Confederation. The resolution passed unanimously and the Governor promised to communicate with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and with the Governor of Canada.

There were various reasons why the people of the Pacific colony wished to join the larger union. The depressed economic state of British Columbia and the heavy cost of government, resulting in a large colonial debt, led many to think that the colony would be more prosperous if it

114 Ibid. June 17, 1868.

115 Ibid. July 8, 1882.

joined Canada. Retrenchment and economy were being continually advocated but even after union of the two colonies, the Government was weighed down by an excessive number of high salaried officials, considering the extremely small population. The British Columbian of February 15, 1868, said that the public debt of the colony was \$1,500,000 and it estimated the population at one person to every five square miles. There was a strong and growing demand for responsible government in place of "official despotism" and it was felt certain that responsible government would follow Confederation.

In Victoria, agitation for Confederation was carried on by a group headed by Amor De Cosmos, while there was a second group which favoured annexation of British Columbia to the United States. Of this group, the British Columbian remarked, "Do these people imagine for a single moment that Queen Victoria is going to cast away one of the brightest gems in her diadem, especially when that one is indispensable to the completeness, the glory and brilliancy of the rest?"¹¹⁶

John Robson was also extremely critical of the Victoria press whom he accused of debasing the colony by "a fixed policy, persistently pursued during the past two or three years, of making this country literally stink in the nostrils of the world." The Columbian added, "The cry of

¹¹⁶ Ibid. May 1, 1867.

bankruptcy, depopulation and utter ruin is industriously circulated abroad." The editor felt that Victoria should confine such remarks to its own "dung hill".¹¹⁷

The Government officials were naturally opposed to Confederation and Governor Seymour was one of the leading opponents of union.

With the exception of De Cosmos, most of the prime advocates of Confederation were from the mainland. In New Westminster there was still keen resentment over the removal of the capital and a deep-seated antipathy to officialdom. John Robson was the leader of the Confederation group. Robson wanted Confederation but he did not favour De Cosmos' demand for "immediate" union. He urged caution and thought, rather than rushing into a premature alliance which might result in British Columbia's accepting a "false or unworthy position in the Dominion of Canada".¹¹⁸

Efforts to secure passage of a motion by the Legislative Council in favour of Confederation were unavailing, due to the preponderance of official representatives, who voted against all such resolutions because they feared Confederation might cost them their positions. On several occasions the official members actually passed resolutions against Confederation. In 1868 the Dominion Government urged

¹¹⁷ Ibid. May 4, 1867.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. February 8, 1868.

the Legislative Council to take steps and on April 24 De Cosmos introduced a resolution setting forth the proposed terms of union. Only four members, De Cosmos, Stamp, Walkem and Robson, voted for the resolution, the appointed members making the excuse that the success of Confederation was not yet assured and that British Columbia was not in a position to understand whether the terms offered by the Dominion were really favorable.¹¹⁹ This official interference only increased the determination of the colonists to be free from Government control.

A large public meeting was held at Victoria on January 29, 1868, at which time a committee was appointed to draw up a memorial for presentation to the Dominion Government. The memorial declared that the majority of people in the colony favoured union with Canada and stated the terms which would be acceptable to British Columbia.

A meeting was called by the Municipal Council to be held at Hyack Hall, New Westminster, on April 6, 1868, to discuss the question of Confederation and the proposed location of the overland route, which was to be one of the conditions of union. John Robson was the principal speaker and he proposed the first resolution which was a motion favouring British Columbia's entrance into Confederation.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. April 29, 1868.

In making this proposal he remarked,

We have little to expect from the Imperial Government so long as we occupy the helpless position of a Crown Colony. . . . With Confederation comes full self-government, the power to think and speak and act like free men. . . . Let us stretch out our hands and accept the profound boon, which Confederation cannot fail to bring to this our adopted country. 120

The meeting also decided that British Columbia should insist upon two conditions of union. These were the assumption of British Columbia's debt by the Dominion of Canada and the early construction of a transcontinental wagon road, which should follow the Fraser River Route via Yale and New Westminster. A committee composed of John Robson, Hugh McRoberts, E. Brown, J. T. Scott, and W. Clarkson, was appointed to prepare an address to be presented to the Legislative Council urging that steps be taken to secure British Columbia's entry into Confederation. This memorial, dated April 17, was transmitted by the committee to Governor Seymour.¹²¹

In May, a Confederation league was formed at Victoria and it soon expanded to include branches in other parts of Vancouver Island and on the mainland. The league sponsored a convention held at Yale on September 14, 1868, with twenty-six delegates in attendance. The President of the New Westminster Municipal Council called a meeting for

120 Ibid. April 8, 1868.

121 Ibid. April 22, 1868.

September 10 to elect the city's delegates; John Robson, David Withrow, Henry Holbrook and Dr. Black being chosen. At Yale a committee was formed, including De Cosmos, Robson and Hugh Nelson, the representative for Burrard Inlet, for carrying out the wishes of the convention, namely Confederation and responsible government.

Following the Yale Convention the question of Confederation was again discussed by the Legislative Council and early in 1869 the official members introduced a resolution declaring that union with Canada was inadvisable. The resolution carried by a vote of eleven to five. A group of members of the Council, R. W. R. Carroll, H. Havelock, T. B. Humphreys, George Walkem, John Robson and E. Graham Alston, drew up a protest, which they presented to the Clerk¹²² of the Council, condemning the Council's action.

The move towards Confederation was given impetus by a petition being sent from Victoria to President Grant asking that British Columbia be annexed to the United States. When the Hudson's Bay Company gave up its rights to the North West Territories in March, 1869, that barrier to Confederation¹²³ was removed. A third favourable incident was the death of

¹²² Ibid. February 20, 1869.

¹²³ P.P.H.C. 390, Papers on the Union of British Columbia with the Dominion of Canada, Granville to Musgrave, p. 30, August 14, 1869.

Governor Seymour, who passed away suddenly on June 10, 1869, aboard H.M.S. Sparrowhawk at Bella Coola.

Governor Seymour was deeply mourned in New Westminster. He had usually been a staunch supporter of the city and was a popular figure there. The Governor was buried in the Naval Cemetery at Esquimalt on June 16, and on the day of his funeral all business at New Westminster was suspended and the bells of the churches and that of the Hyack Engine House were solemnly tolled. A number of New Westminster citizens went over to Victoria to attend the funeral services and addresses of condolence from the Municipal Council and the Hyack Company were tendered to the Governor's widow. These messages were presented at Government House by Henry Holbrook and W. J. Armstrong.

On June 14 a telegram was sent to London informing the Colonial Office of Frederick Seymour's death and the following day an answer was received to the effect that Antony Musgrave had been appointed his successor.

Musgrave was instructed by the Colonial Office to encourage Confederation. "You will hold yourself authorized . . . to take such steps as you properly and constitutionally can for promoting the favourable consideration of this subject."

124 British Columbian, June 16, 1869.

125 Ibid. June 16, 1869.

126 P.P.H.C. 390, Granville to Musgrave, August 14, 1869.

Governor Musgrave paid his first visit to the mainland in September. He reached New Westminster on the Enterprise on September 7. The city was gaily decked and the Hyacks were out in full force in their brilliant scarlet uniforms. The guns of the Seymour Artillery were "brought down and unlimbered in Lytton Square, where they thundered forth a Royal Salute as the Enterprise neared the wharf," and a "merry peal" was rung on the bells at Holy Trinity. The President and members of the Municipal Council went on board to welcome the new Governor, following which he and his party proceeded to Government House. In the evening the members of the New Westminster Choral Society went out to Sapperton and serenaded the Governor with "some very pretty
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pieces of music".

The following morning the Municipal Council waited on the Governor and presented an address expressing hope that in His Excellency they would find "a warm supporter of the great scheme of Confederation with the Dominion of
128
Canada". Governor Musgrave and his party were shown through the hospital, the public school and Holy Trinity Church, then they drove over to Burrard Inlet where they visited the "village of Gastown", the B. C. and V.I. mill, Jerry Rogers' logging camp and Moody's mill.

127 Mainland Guardian, September 8, 1869.

128 Ibid. September 11, 1869.

New Westminster was beginning to be a little doubtful of Confederation. This hesitancy was probably the result of the intense bitterness felt over the shabby treatment New Westminster received at the time of the union of the two colonies. Henry Holbrook was a staunch anti-Confederationist. ". . . I believe in belonging to a great and glorious country like Great Britain, that gives us every freedom to govern ourselves, and at the same time affords us her protection, rather than belonging to and being governed as a distant province of Canada, that will rule the colony with a rod of iron, take from us all they can get and make us liable for our portion of the great debt they at present owe."¹²⁹

Following the presentation of the above mentioned address to Governor Musgrave, Holbrook publicly disavowed the sentiments expressed by the majority of the Council. In November he resigned from the Council on this issue, but was re-elected the following month, so he must have had a certain following.

On January 19, 1870, a public meeting was held to hear Hon. John Robson, member of the Legislative Council, give his views on the subject of Confederation. Following

¹²⁹ Ibid. September 18, 1869.

Robson's address a resolution was moved by Mr. William Fisher and passed by the meeting, "That this meeting, while expressing their entire confidence in their representative, do not endorse the opinions he has expressed on immediate
130
Confederation."

A terrific furore was created by this meeting. Hon. John Robson announced in the pages of the Colonist that he had been misquoted in the Mainland Guardian. A group of prominent New Westminsterites including William Irving, J. T. Scott, William Fisher and Dr. A. W. S. Black published a notice in the Guardian of February 5, saying that the account of the meeting published by that paper was absolutely correct. Twenty-four of Robson's friends published "A Protest" in the Colonist after the Guardian refused to publish it unless it were paid for.

On February 22 another meeting was held to discuss the terms of union. A committee of ten, including William Fisher, W. J. Armstrong, J. A. Webster, H. V. Edmonds, William Irving, C. Lee, H. McRoberts, E. Brown, T. Ladner, and J. K. Suter, was appointed to examine the terms proposed by Governor Musgrave to the Legislative Council and to report
131
to the adjourned meeting.

The report was presented on March 1. The committee

130 Ibid. September 18, 1869.

131 Ibid. January 22, 1870.

agreed with the terms in general but believed that some mention should be made of education. Their chief recommendation was to delete the words "Esquimalt" and "Victoria" from the terms and replace them by "in the colony". They also suggested that it should be definitely stated that all public institutions should be built on the mainland and that the terminus of the railroad should be either New Westminster or Burrard Inlet. The meeting moved a further resolution that the Dominion Government should be required to provide telegraphic communication between British Columbia and Canada.¹³²

Negotiations with the Canadian Government were reopened in March of 1870. The Legislative Council spent over two weeks debating the terms to which British Columbia would agree, and a delegation of R. W. W. Carroll, Dr. J. S. Helmcken and J. W. Trutch left in May to go to Ottawa to meet with members of the Dominion Government. On July 7, representatives of the two Governments came to a final agreement on terms. Meanwhile, the Imperial Government had re-constituted the Legislative Council so that elected representatives would be in a majority. The number of appointed members was reduced to six while there were still nine elected members. The elections held in the fall of

¹³² Ibid. March 2, 1870.

1870 had as their main issue the terms of Confederation.

Two candidates were nominated for New Westminster, W. J. Armstrong and Hugh Nelson from Burrard Inlet. Both favoured Confederation and construction of a railroad via the Fraser River route. Mr. Armstrong came out strongly in favour of responsible government while Mr. Nelson's platform included the building of a wagon road from New Westminster to Yale. The Mainland Guardian, New Westminster's leading paper, since the removal of the British Columbian to Victoria, supported Mr. Armstrong: "His family ties, his sympathies are all bound up in the everyday life of this community. . . . He is ahead of all his compeers in trade enterprise."

Mr. Nelson was not favoured because he spent a large part of his time in Victoria, therefore he could not help "being more or less tinctured with Victoria sentiments." ¹³³

Nominations were received on November 2 at the Court House, New Westminster. There was a show of hands in favour of Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Nelson's supporters demanded a poll. Meetings to hear both candidates were held at the Hyack Hall on November 1 and at the Retreat, Sapperton, the following evening. The candidates also spoke at Burrard Inlet and Sumass. Polls were opened on November 7 at New

133 Ibid. November 2, 1870.

Westminster, Burrard Inlet, the School House, Langley, and
 at A. C. Wells' "Chillukwayuk",¹³⁴ and the result was the
 election of Hugh Nelson.

Meanwhile, as Confederation became almost a
 certainty, the route to be taken by the proposed railroad
 became the subject of much controversy. A meeting to discuss
 this question was held at Hyack Hall on November 11 and a
 resolution was passed to the effect that, "The inhabitants
 of New Westminster most strongly deprecate the agitation
 at present carried on by the people and press of Victoria
 regarding the location of the terminus of the transcontinental
 Railway. That we believe the same to be hurtful to the cause
 of Confederation."¹³⁵

A petition, favouring the route through the Fraser
 Canyon, was circulated on the mainland. It was signed by
 400 residents of New Westminster and Burrard Inlet.

The new Legislative Council, which met in January,
 1871, ratified the terms of union and abolished the
 Legislative Council. It was replaced by a Legislative
 Assembly of twenty-five members thus securing the establish-
 ment of responsible government. Arrangements were made for
 the registration between May 10 and June 10 of all those who
 would be eligible to vote. Those appointed as Registrars for

¹³⁴ Ibid. October 26, 1870.

¹³⁵ Ibid. November 12, 1870.

the New Westminster district were V. B. Tait at the Treasury Building, New Westminster; James Kennedy at the School House, Langley; J. McCutcheon at Chilliwack and C. M. Chambers of Moody, Dietz and Nelson's mill on the Inlet.

The Legislative Council drew up an address to Queen Victoria, which was later forwarded by Governor Murgrave to Her Majesty, asking that British Columbia be admitted to Confederation. On July 20, 1871, the Crown Colony of British Columbia became a Province of the Dominion of Canada. In August, Joseph W. Trutch became the first Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia in place of Edward Musgrave, the last Colonial Governor, who left Victoria on July 25, 1871.

The proclamation of British Columbia's entry into Confederation was the cause for a joyous celebration at New Westminster where "flags of every shape and nationality floated from every possible pole." The Seymour Artillery and the New Westminster Volunteer Rifles assembled at the Drill Shed and then marched to the Crescent. At noon a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from twenty-four pounders by the Artillery under Lieutenant Scott while the Rifles under Lieutenant Claudet fired a "feu de joie". Sports were held at the Cricket Grounds in the afternoon with a ball following at 9:00 p.m.

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MAPS

1. Map of New Westminster drawn by Corporal J.B.Launders and Corporal Charles Sinnett, Royal Engineers. Original in the British Columbia Archives. Copy, Board 3, Land Registry Office, New Westminster, B.C.
2. Map of New Westminster and suburban lands drawn by J.B.Launders under the direction of Captain Parsons, R.E. Copy, Board 41A, Land Registry Office, New Westminster, B.C.
3. Plan of part of Fraser's River, B. C. Papers, part 2, after p. 93.

Sources

The writer could find no trace of any civic records (Assessment rolls, Minutes of Council etc) dealing with the period prior to Confederation. Presumably they were burned in the fire of 1898 which almost completely destroyed the business section of New Westminster.

The files of the British Columbian were the most important source of information. Valuable data, particularly regarding the years 1859 to 1862 was obtained from B.C. Papers and B.C. Despatches

Other important sources were the files of other contemporary newspapers, the correspondence of Governor Douglas and Colonel Moody, and letter books of the Royal Engineers and the Lands and Works Department. For background material, the writer is chiefly indebted to Howay and Scholefield, British Columbia, volume 2.